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SEALS XIV

Volume 2

Papers from the 14th
annual meeting of the
Southeast Asian
Linguistics Society
2004

edited by
Wilaiwan Khanittanan
and
Paul Sidwell

Pacific Linguistics
Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies



The Australian National University

Pacific Linguistics E-7

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Preface

The Southeast Asian Linguistics Society

History and Goals

The Southeast Asian Linguistics Society (SEALS) was conceived by Martha Ratliff and Eric Schiller in 1990 as a needed forum for the linguists who have the languages of mainland and Pacific Southeast Asia as their primary research focus. It is our hope that the activities of the Society will lead to:

1. greater communication within this group of scholars, especially across the gap which has heretofore divided researchers of mainland Southeast Asian languages and the Austronesian languages of the Pacific;
2. needed publication of descriptive, theoretical and historical accounts of these languages, in the first instance in the form of these proceedings volumes; and
3. greater awareness of these languages by non-specialist linguists, many of whom attempt to make universal and typological generalizations about the human language faculty without the important corrective which knowledge of Southeast Asian languages provides.

To these ends the Society hosts an annual international meeting as the primary means to support these goals. Specific projects, publications, and services beyond those of an annual meeting and the publication of the meeting proceedings will be at the discretion of the members of the Society.

Scope

The Southeast Asian Linguistics Society was founded with the idea of giving language researchers with a 'non-northern' Asian focus a place to share their findings and ideas. In terms of genetic affiliation, investigation into any aspect of Austroasiatic, Austronesian, Hmong-Mien, Tai-Kadai, or Tibeto-Burman languages may be relevant to our members. Although the common thread we recognize in the first instance is geographical, the boundaries of the Southeast Asian area are not clear, and we would not like to be responsible for trying to draw them rigidly. For example, students of languages which have a historical connection to the languages of the area but which are geographically outside and/or typologically unlike those in the Southeast Asian group would be welcome to participate in our meetings and publications as would students of the typologically similar Chinese languages of southern China.

The Fourteenth Annual Meeting

The Fourteenth Annual Meeting of the Southeast Asian Linguistics Society was held in Bangkok, Thailand, May 19-21, 2004. The meeting was hosted by the Department of Linguistics (Faculty of Liberal Arts) of Thammasat University, with assistance from the Commission on Higher Education.

The meeting was large by the standards of previous SEALS, and it is to the great credit of the organizers that it was such a great success. The schedule included 105 presentations and seven plenary sessions, characterized under 21 sub-fields of linguistics. The challenge of organizing and executing the meeting fell to the organizing committee, whose membership composed: Deeyu Srinarawat (Chair), Boonruang Chuensuwimol, Chatchawadee Saralamba, Cholticha Bamroongraks, Chutamanee Onsuwan, Laddawan Permcharoen, Leah Bateman, Nantana Ronakiat, Pintip Tuaycharoen, Porn-tipa Thongsawang, Sirinee Chenvidkarn, Varisa Kamalanavin, and Wilaiwan Khanittanan. On the days of the meeting the committee was also ably assisted by various student helpers, whose efforts proved invaluable.

Befitting such a grand meeting, the proceedings were officially inaugurated by Her Royal Highness Princess Galyani Vadhana, whose support for and genuine heartfelt interest in language and culture are widely acknowledged and appreciated.

After the meeting the number of papers offered for the proceedings was unprecedented - enough to take up more than 500 pages - and we subsequently decided to split the production into two volumes. Understandably, the editing and typesetting of so many diverse papers presents many challenges, and we thank the contributors for their patience and cooperation in the course of the production process. Over four years we did in fact lose contact with several authors, and consequently were not able to publish their papers at this time. With our apologies, we invite those contributors to resubmit for inclusion in *JSEALS* (*Journal of Southeast Asian Linguistics Society*, www.jseals.org) which will henceforth be the principal organ of publication for SEALS.

Finally, special thanks are also due to Chutamanee Onsuwan for the first and most laborious round of typesetting, which avoided many errors and greatly contributed to the look and quality of the volume.

In 2004 Thammasat University published a 218 page volume of all the conference abstracts. The full texts of these abstracts can be viewed on-line via the SEALS archive site at the JSEALS website (www.jseals.org), where useful information from other SEALS meetings is also available.

Wilaiwan Khanittanan (Bangkok)
Paul Sidwell (Canberra)
September 2008

JAPANESE AND THAI CONDITIONAL EXPRESSIONS -COGNITIVE MODALITY: CAUSAL, TEMPORAL AND HYPOTHETICAL-

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This study is a contrastive analysis of Japanese and Thai conditional expressions, namely, **ba**, **to**, **tara** and **nara** in Japanese and **thâa**, **hàak**, **môaa** and **phoo** in Thai respectively.

The sentence structure of conditional expressions in both 0 languages are:

Japanese: P **ba / to / tara / nara** Q

Thai: **thâa / hàak / môaa / phoo** P (**kôo**) Q

The study aims to find the meaning of each expression at the semantic level in order to establish a comprehensive framework in explaining the meanings and functions of conditional expressions in both languages. In the previous literature, Japanese and Thai conditional expressions have been explained by grammarians and linguists as follows:

Previous studies in Japanese conditional expressions

1. MATSUSHITA Daisaburo (1928, 1930)

Matsushita explains that one of the cases of a verb is the constraint which is divided into two groups, they are:

1) **Conditional Constraint** (Katei Koosoku) which consists of:

a. Future Conditional (Mizen Katei)--the supposition of an action that may take place in the future:

- (1) Tenchishitaraba, kooka ga arimashoo. (Mizen Katei)
If you change your living quarters, your health will improve. (Future Conditional)

b. Present Conditional (Joozen Katei)--an action relevant to general affairs that will occur regardless of place and time and this type of conditional has causal meaning. The examples of the two subcategories are:

- (2) (Izukomo), suidoo areba, mizubennari. (Joozen Katei)
(Anywhere) When there is water supply, it is convenient. (causal)
(It is convenient when there is water supply.)

2) Non-Conditional Constraint (Kakutei Koosoku) which consists of:

a. Causal (Inga) —the relation of cause and effect—

- (3) Tenchisureba koso, naorimoshitanda. (causal)
When I changed my living quarters, my health became better.

b. Contingent / Incidental (Guuzen):

- (4) Tenchishitaraba, taihen ni yoku natta. (Incidental)
It happened that when I moved to another place, my health improved

One can see that sentence (2) and sentence (3) have a causal meaning while sentence (2) refers to a general matter and the event in (3) can be either a general matter or the customary event of a particular matter. This raises the question as to whether a customary event of a non-past event is included in the causal relation of the two clauses in a conditional sentence as well. Also, in Matsushita's explanation, the difference between conditional (Katei) and non-conditional (Kakutei) is not clear as one can see in example in (5) and (6):

- (5) (izukomo), suidooareba, mizubennari. (Conditional)
(Anywhere), when there is water supply, it is convenient.
- (6) (Tookyoowa), suidooareba, mizubennari
(Non-conditional)
(In Tokyo), when there is water supply, it is convenient.

According to Matsushita, sentence(5) does not denote any actual existence of the water supply, it is merely a supposition of having water supply which will result in convenience while (6) refers to an actual place—Tokyo—where there is water supply and this is not a supposition. However, one can observe that (5) and (6) have causal meaning; convenience is the result of having water supply. It leads one to think that the difference between Conditional and Non-conditional in Matsushita's explanation is marked by being general or particular.

2. KINOSHITA Masao (1943)

Kinoshita (1943) suggests that the analysis of conditional expressions must be made from the standpoint of speech act and not judging from the tense of verbs as traditional grammarians have been practicing. Kinoshita points out that the meaning of conditional sentences depends on the speaker's mental attitude. Kinoshita explains the meaning of *nara* that *nara* is an expression denoting that the speaker either fully or partly accepts the statement of the listener in P and gives a hypothetical inference from the listener's assertion in Q. See the following example:

- (7) Soodesuka. Kiyani ikuno nara, tsuideni bokuno honga kite iruka dooka kiite kite kure.
I see. If you are going to Kiya, please ask them whether my book has arrived.

Kinoshita has developed the explanation of the meaning of conditionals. However, Kinoshita does not give details concerning the rest of the expressions.

3. KUNO Susumu (1973)

Kuno observes the meaning and usage of *nara*, *tara* and *to* from the sentence structure. Kuno explains the meaning of *nara* that “The speaker expresses S1 as the assertion given by the listener (or people in general) without complete agreement of the statement.(Kuno p. 101)”

(8) Hanako ga iku tsumorinara, Taroo mo sono tsumori deshoo.
If Hanako intends to go, Taroo will probably go, too.

(9) ×Boku ga iku tsumorinara, Taroo mo sono tsumori deshoo.

Kuno explains that (8) is grammatical because the listener can assert the third person's intention while (9) is ungrammatical because the listener cannot assert the intention of the speaker. Concerning *tara*, Kuno explains the meaning of *tara* that it derives from the perfective-*ta*. Therefore *tara* denotes the meaning of temporal. Kuno gives the following examples:

(10) Tookyoo ni ittara, Taroo ni aimasu.
When I go to Tokyo I will meet Taro.

In Kuno's explanation, the event in sentence (10) can be realized according to the will of the speaker. Thus, this is a controllable action and the two clauses of sentence (10) have a temporal relationship.

Kuno's explanation on *tara* is excellent. However, Kuno does not realize that sentence (10) can be interpreted as hypothetical as well.

4. TOYODA Toyoko (1977~1985)

Toyoda explains the meaning and functions of *to* in a series. In this paper, among all the meanings of *to*, the meaning of “Discovery (Hakken)” and “Causal; (Inga)” will be discussed.

1) Discovery (Hakken): P describes the situation of what has been discovered in Q. For example:

(12) Toshokan ni iku to Yamada san ga ita.

2) Causal (Inga) P is the cause and Q expresses the result. Toyoda divides this Causal into 3 types, they are:

a. Non-past causal: Whenever the event in P occurs, the event in Q takes place. This cause-effect occurs repetitively. In Non-past causal, the event takes place regardless of time; it is transcendent.

(13) Tenrankai ga aruto, Taro wa shuppin suru.
When there is an exhibition, Taro would exhibit his work.

b. State causal: The event in P indicates a state in the past:

- (14) Kono machi wa jitensha ga nai to, fuben datta.
In this town if one did not have a bicycle, it was inconvenient.

c. Non-single verb causal: This type is the past event which always ends with *monoda* when the speaker recalls an event in the past:

- (15) Hanako ga “Pochi” to iu to, Pochi ga o o futta monoda.
Whenever Hanako called “Pochi”, Pochi would wag its tail.

Toyoda has been explaining at great length the meaning of *to*. As a matter of fact, it is not only *to* that expresses causal meaning, *ba* also denotes the same meaning as *to*, however, Toyoda does not give details of the rest of the conditional expressions.

II. Previous studies in Thai conditional expressions:

Thai conditional expressions have been treated as one of the conjunctive expressions and have been explained most by traditional grammarians. In this study, only a brief summary of some grammarians' points of view is made.

1. Praya Sinlapasaan Uppakit (1937)

Praya Sinlapasaan explains the meanings of conditional expressions under the same title as conjunctive expressions, for example: **môaa** and **phoo** are the conjunctives under the conjunctives which express the meaning of temporal:

- (16) *môaa /phoo* fôn-tòk chǎn kôo noon.
When it rains, I feel want to sleep.

thâa expresses hypothetical:

- (17) *thâa* fôn mây tòk chǎn cà pay.
If it does not rain, I will go.

In his explanation, Praya Sinlapasaan does not give any details concerning the difference of **môaa** and **phoo**.

2. PANTHUMETHA, N (1982)

Panthumetha gives a more advanced explanation about the meaning of conditionals: **phoo** expresses temporal meaning in the sense that P precedes Q:

- (18) *phoo* chǎn hěn khǎu khǎu kôo rîp òok càak ráan.
When I saw him, he (then) left the store.

môaa denotes that the events in P and Q occur at the same time:

- (19) khun-mêæ pen-lom *môaa* àan còt-măay.
Mother fainted when she read the letter.

3. NOSS, Richard (1964)

Noss attempts to explain the meaning of conditional expressions in Thai language by the approach of traditional grammar and Transformational grammar. Noss divides conjunctives into 4 classes. Among them **thâa** and **môaa** are subclasses in the **thâa** class as follows:

- a. **thâa** If (and some other similar expressions: **hàak**, **thâa-hàak**, **thâa-phùaa**)

- (20) *thâa-hàak* mii rót phǒm kôo cà pay dâi.
If only I had a car, I could go.

- (21) *thâa-phùaa* mii rót phǒm kôo cà pay dâi.
If I have a car, I'll be able to go.

It is obvious that Noss distinguishes the past and non-past by using **hàak** and **phùaa** after **thâa**. However, since **thâa** can be used alone for either past or future events without these two words, the present study will consider **thâa** as the representative.

- b. **môaa** “when”, **tòo-môaa** “only when, only if”

- (22) *môaa* phǒm mii rót phǒm kôo cà pay dâi.
When I have a car, I will be able to go.

- (23) khǎu bòok wâa khǎu cà pay *môaa* phǒm pay.
He said he would go only if I went.

- (24) phoo khǎu dâi-yin yàaŋ-nán khǎu tòn than-thii.
The moment he heard that, he woke up.

It should be mentioned here that Noss gives more detail in his analysis on conditional expressions than others; Noss gives two different meanings of *môaa* as illustrated in sentences (22) and (23). However, Noss does not go into detail as to whether **thâa** and **môaa** have any differences in their meaning of hypothetical. Also, the difference between **môaa** and **phoo** in (22) and (24) in the meaning of temporal is not mentioned.

III. Problems in understanding the meaning of conditional expressions

The previous studies of conditional expressions in both Japanese and Thai languages have been introduced. One can see that most linguists and grammarians give the explanation from various standpoints and with different definitions. The result is that when Thai students learn Japanese, they still encounter difficulty in understanding Japanese conditional expressions. For example:

- (25) *moshi*, *ashita harereba* /to/tara /nara, kuru hito mo fueru deshoo.
thâa phrûŋ-níi aa-kàat dii khon khon maa mâak khun.

If tomorrow is a fine day, the visitors will probably increase.

In Japanese, four different expressions can be used with the meaning of hypothetical while in Thai only **thâa** can be used. Let us look at the following example:

- (26) Haru ga kureba, / kuru to, hana ga saku.
When spring comes, the cherry trees blossom.

In sentence (26), one can see that ba / to do not hold the meaning of hypothetical any more. Because of this, Thai students learning Japanese will have to be careful to translate this sentence into Thai by using **môaa** / **phoo** and not **thâa** as:

môaa / phoo thŏŋ rŭ-duu bay-máay-phlì dòok-máay kŏo baan

See sentence (27) (N. Akatsuka 1983) below:

- (27) Konya shujin ga kaetteki tara, tazunemashoo.
môaa / thâa sǎa- mii klàp-maa khuun-níi cà thǎam.
When/ If my husband comes back tonight, I'll ask.

We can see that *tara* in sentence (27) is ambiguous since it holds two different meanings in deep structure. The ambiguity of this sentence can only be solved at the discourse level; if at the moment of utterance, the speaker believes that her husband will come back, the reading will be temporal and if the speaker is not certain that her husband will come back or not then the reading will be hypothetical. When this sentence is translated into English or Thai, the alternative of when or **môaa** and if or **thâa** must be used in order to convey the different meaning of temporal or hypothetical respectively as illustrated in sentence (27).

IV Modality

From the previous studies and the problems learners of Japanese language encounter which have been mentioned above, it is obvious that the problems are due to the wide range of the Japanese and Thai conditional expressions which cover the hypothetical and the non-hypothetical meanings. Thus, in explaining the meaning of conditional expressions in Japanese and Thai, it is crucial to know the mental attitude of the speaker at the moment of utterance, in other words, one should judge from the modality of the sentence uttered by the speaker at the moment of utterance.

1. Palmer (1986) points out that in English conditionals, there are different subcategories of conditionals, they are Real and Unreal conditionals. Palmer illustrates the Real and Unreal conditionals by the following sentences (Palmer 1986):

- (28) If John comes, I shall leave.

In Palmer's explanation, a sentence such as (28) is considered a "real conditional sentence" because the meaning of (28) can be interpreted as: The speaker thinks that it is possible that John will come.

- (29) If John came, I should leave.

Palmer treats a sentence such as (29) as an “unreal conditional sentence” since it conveys the meaning that: The speaker knows that it is impossible that John will come.

The present study agrees with Palmer’s proposal that there are categories in conditional meanings.

2. AKATSUKA Noriko (1981, 1983, 1985a, 1985b)

Akatsuka has been explaining Japanese conditionals from the point of view of speech act. Akatsuka points out that in considering the meaning of conditionals, one must consider them from the discourse level and the key words for explaining the meaning of conditionals is hypothetical and temporal.

Akatsuka proposes a continuum indicating the speaker’s mental attitude from the domain of Irrealis to the domain of Realis (see fig.1.). Akatsuka explains: “...The two conceptual domains, realis and irrealis, do not stand in clear-cut opposition, but rather are on a continuum, in terms of the speaker’s subjective evaluation of the ontological reality of a given situation...” (N. Akatsuka 1985:635)

In sentences (30) and (31), Akatsuka illustrates the change of English if to because or since:

- (30) A: I’m going to the Winter L.S.A.
B: If you are going, I’m going, too.

Akatsuka explains: “Here B must use if; the use of because would be quite awkward...” However, when B picks up the telephone right away, he would say to his wife:

- (31) I’m going to the Winter L.S.A. (*if / because / since) Takeda (=Speaker A) is going.

Akatsuka adds that: “The unacceptability of if here indicates that the newly-learned information, which the speaker regards as true, has just moved from the domain of irrealis into that of realis.”

REALIS	IRREALIS		
know (exist x)	get to know (exist x)	not know (exist x)	know not(exist x)
	↑ newly-learned information		↑ counter-factual

Fig. 1: Epistemic scale proposed by Akatsuka (1985)

. Cognitive Modality

The present study agrees with Palmer that in conditionals, there exist subcategories of the speaker's mental attitude—modality.

In order to explain the modality of Japanese and Thai conditional expressions, one needs to know the mental attitude of the speaker at the moment of utterance. In Chau's study (Chau 1985), she modifies the epistemic scale proposed by Akatsuka and explains the modality of conditional expressions in Japanese on the basis of objectivity and subjectivity. However, as illustrated previously, the criteria of objectivity and subjectivity are not sufficient in explaining Japanese and Thai conditional expressions. One should know the speaker's knowledge of what is true or not true in the domains of realis and irrealis. Therefore the present study proposes another scale along the scale of subjectivity and objectivity. It is the scale of Cognitive Modality. Thus, the term modality used in the present study means the speaker's knowledge of P which can be divided into three categories: causal, temporal and hypothetical. The present study proposes the scale of cognitive modality which is illustrated in fig.2 by modifying Akatsuka and Chau's scales. It should be mentioned that Akatsuka explains in her example indicating that realis exists in the actual world while in this study both the domains of realis and irrealis are in the subjective world and they are in a continuum. For convenience, the term Cognitive Modality will be used in the present study and it can be explained as follows:

a) Causal: At the moment of utterance, the speaker believes that P is a fact and whenever P occurs Q would occur repeatedly; that is, P is the cause of the occurrence in Q. Let us look at the examples in Japanese and Thai:

Japanese: (32) Haru ga kureba, hana ga saku.

When spring comes, the cherry trees blossom.
(general event implying causal meaning)

Thai: mŏaa / phŏo thŏŋ rŭ-duu bay-máay-phlŭ dŏok-máay kŏo baan

Japanese: (33) Taro wa okane ga aru to, ryokoo o suru.

When Taro has money, he would go traveling.
(specific event implying causal meaning)

Thai: thaa-rŏo phŏo mii ŋoen kŏo pay thŭaw.

b) Temporal: at the moment of utterance, the speaker believes that P is true or P will be realized.

Japanese: (34) Taro wa heya ni hairu to denki o tsuketa.

When Taro went into the room, he turned on the light. (past event temporal)

Thai: phŏo thaa-rŏo khŭu hŏnŋ kŏo pŏet fay.

Japanese: (35) Nagoya eki ni tsuitara, denwa o kudasai.

When you arrive at Nagoya Station, please give me a call (temporal)

Thai: (môaa / thâa) thũŋ sàthǎanii léæw chûaay thoo-rá-sàp maa dûaay.

Japanese: (36) Mado o akeru to yuki ga futte ita.

When I opened the window, I found that it had been snowing.

Thai: phɔɔ pòet nâa-tàaŋ kôɔ phóp wâ hì-má tòk.

It should be mentioned here that sentence (36) can be interpreted that at the moment of utterance, the speaker knows P is true and it occurred in the past which was an unexpected event. Like many others, Toyoda calls such a sentence “Hakken” (Discovery). However, since such a sentence expresses an occurrence in the past which can be replaced by *toki* (when), it will be treated as the category of temporal.

c) Hypothetical: at the moment of utterance, the speaker knows that it is possible that P would be realized or the speaker knows that it is impossible that P would be realized.

Japanese: (37) Okane ga attara, kuruma o kau.

If I have money, I'll buy a car.

(hypothetical--possible)

Thai: thâa chǎn mii ɲoen cà sǔu rót

Japanese: (38) Edojidai ni umarete ireba, TOKUGAWA ieyasu ni aeta kamoshirenai.

If I were born in the Edo era, I might have been able to see Ieyasu TOKUGAWA.

(hypothetical--counter-factual)

Thai: thâa chǎn kòet nay sà-mǎy ee-dò chǎn àat cà mii oo-kàat phóp i-ee-yaa-sú
thoo-kù-ɲaa-wâa

Time / Space	Actual world	Subjective World		
	Past	Future	Present / Past	
	Actual	Realis	Irrealis	
Linguistic World				
Japanese Meaning	realized, unexpected, temporal b a,tara,to	causal(trans- cendency) / temporal ba,tara,to	unrealized, possible, hypothetical ba,to,tara,nara	unrealized, impossible, hypothetical ba,tara,nara kamoshirenaidaroo
	môaa,phoo	môaa,phoo,thâa	thâa,hàak, môaa	thâa/ hàak... kôo-dii

Fig.2: Japanese and Thai cognitive modality and the epistemic scale

VI. Conclusion

As illustrated in the examples above, it can be concluded that in explaining Japanese and Thai conditional expressions, it is crucial to examine the mental attitude of the speaker at the moment of utterance, and from this, one can know the semantic characteristics of each expression. This study agrees with Akatsuka that the mental attitude in both domains of realis and irrealis are in a continuum. However, unlike Akatsuka, in this study, these domains exist in the subjective world since the realization of the events in P exists in the speaker's knowledge and not in the actual world. The examples of Japanese and Thai prove that there are categories of mental attitude indicating either what is true or what is not true in the sense of the realization of P. In this study, the attitude is divided into three categories and they are: causal, temporal and hypothetical. This mental attitude is called Cognitive Modality.

Note

1. Akatsuka, N. 1983
2. Akatsuka, N. 1985 p.635

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THE TONES OF TAI YA

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1. Introduction

Tai Ya, spoken by approximately 28,000 people in Central Yunnan Province, China, as well as 5-600 people in Chiang Rai Province, Thailand, represents one of the lesser-studied Tai languages in the region. Unlike their more widely known Dai neighbors, the Tai Ya do not possess a traditional orthography. They do, however, have a rich oral literature, passed down through the centuries. Current linguistic vitality is high, and it is likely that the language will continue to be spoken into the future.

This paper utilizes instrumental analysis and the Gedney checklist as a starting point for analyzing the tonal system of Tai Ya. Comparisons are made between Tai Ya and related languages, in an effort to more clearly understand Tai Ya's place in the Southwestern Tai branch.

It is hoped that this paper will stimulate further research into the phonology, grammar, and discourse structures of Tai Ya.

2. Introduction to the Tai Ya

The Tai Ya are one of four closely related Tai groups collectively referred to as the “Hua Yao [k^hoi jo t^ha] Dai”. This Chinese term literally means “Colorful Waist Tai,” a designation springing from the fact that the Hua Yao Dai wear colorful cloth belts—as opposed to the silver belts preferred by groups such as Tai Lue. The three other groups included as “Hua Yao Dai” include Tai Sai (population 10,000), Tai Kha (population 5-6,000), and Tai Chung (population 20,000+) (Fifth Chinese Census).

These four groups are mutually intelligible, but are distinguished from one another by dress and location. The Tai Sai are the Northernmost, living alongside the headwaters of the Red River around the area traditionally called Muang Sai (Gasa District, Xinning County). Immediately south of the Tai Sai are the Tai Kha (Yao-jie District, Xinning County). Unlike the other Hua Yao Dai, the Tai Kha are not associated with any specific Muang (‘city state’)—they are outside the Muang system—something that in itself is interesting in the context of Tai historical politics. South of the Tai Kha are the Tai Ya, centered around Muang Ya (Mosha District, Xinning County). The Southernmost of the groups are the Tai Zhong, centered around Muang Zhong in Yuanjiang County.

Records from the Tang Dynasty place the group in their current location. Prior to that, the Tai Ya were thought to have resided in the area of Dian Sue (just south of modern Kunming). They migrated South, possibly along with other Tai groups. In fact, Tai Ya legend has it that they were following an advance group—who marked the path by hacking down banana tree stalks. However, they found that the banana stalks were growing back

rapidly. Unable to follow the trail, they thus decided to settle where they were, and thus became separated from the larger Tai group. Hence the designation “Tai Ya,” with ya meaning ‘separated from, divorced.’

A slightly different version of the origin of the name Tai Ya, as told by the Tai Lue, claims that, when the Lord Buddha came to preach in Yunnan, the Tai Ya were too “thick-skinned” to learn from him and become Buddhists. Finally in frustration, the Buddha said something to the effect of “Yaak-khao tert”—‘get out of here.’ (Dodd 1923: 88). This ancient folktale also serves to explain why the Hua Yao Dai never became Buddhists—unlike many other Dai groups in the area, they continue in animistic practices that might be considered more properly “True Tai” religion.

As a potential consequence of their failure to become Buddhists, the Tai Ya never developed a writing system. This, again, sets them apart from other Tai groups in the area. A brief attempt at writing Tai Ya was carried out by a German missionary during the 1940s, using an old form of Chinese pinxin. An example follows:

\\n\\n\\n	/P Y	\\n\\n\\n	~k-~	\\n\\n\\n	~k-~
\\muwŋ	\\ja	[l]lon	\\pen	\\muwŋ	\\li
Muang	Ya	big	is	Muang	good

This missionary translated the story of Joseph from the Christian Bible using this orthography. As such, it is the only written Tai Ya record of any sort.

An American missionary encouraged and led a migration of a group of Tai Ya from Yunnan to Chiang Rai, Thailand, in search of a better living situation. This migration took place in the 1920s. A smaller number of Tai Ya migrated to Thailand during World War II.

Their quest for greater prosperity in Thailand seems to have borne fruit; the 5-600 Tai Ya in Chiang Rai now boast a number of successful teachers, police officers, university lecturers, and even one Ph.D. The Tai Ya in Chiang Rai have a strong sense of identity, having established a Tai Ya association to promote social development and linguistic preservation. The association’s annual meetings (several days of festivities) draw 2-300 members. During the meetings it is forbidden to speak Thai; only Tai Ya is allowed. In the end, however, they often end up speaking at least some Thai, since some of the younger generation understand Tai Ya but cannot speak it. In future years, this festival will coincide with the Easter celebration.

3. Tonal Analysis

In this section, we will examine the results of an instrumental analysis of Tai Ya tone, based on the Gedney boxes. This data is based on recordings made by the authors (Mr. Yang being a native speaker of Tai Ya) in May 2002.

These sounds were input into a computer using CoolEdit 2000 (Syntrillium Software). Cool Edit was also used to ‘cut apart’ the various boxes. The individual Gedney box clips were then imported into Speech Analyzer (SIL International). Thereafter, the values of the tonal contours were exported into Microsoft Excel, for more convenient charting and comparison.

We will begin by discussing the A2-3 tones, then continue through the rest of the Gedney boxes, returning to somewhat enigmatic A1 box at the conclusion of this section.

3.1 A2-3 Tones

The A2-3 tones of Tai Ya reveal a basic mid-level contour, in the range of 110-120 Hz, as shown in figure 1.

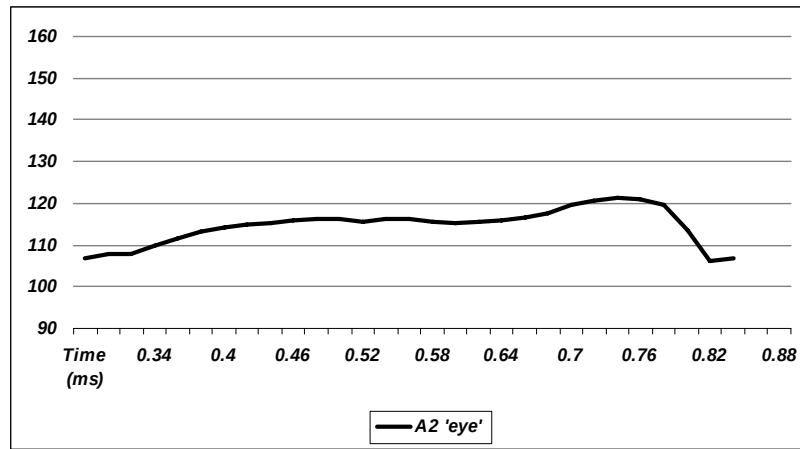


Figure 1: *A2 mid-level tone*

3.2 A4 Tone

In dramatic contrast to A2-3, the Tai Ya A4 tone begins relatively high, in the 140-150 Hz range, before plummeting and ending at approximately 90 Hz. As such, we have designated this a high-falling tone.

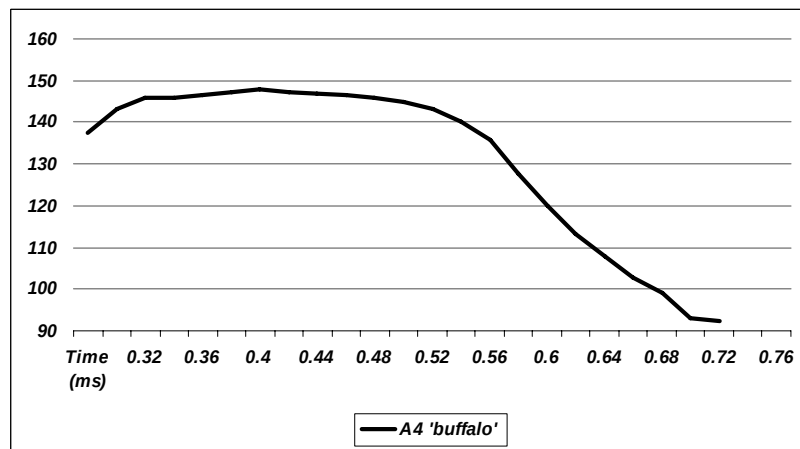


Figure 2: *A4 high-falling tone*

3.3 B1-3 Tones

The B1-3 tones of Tai Ya begin in the range of 108-118 Hz (comparable to the starting point of the A2-3 mid-level tone) before ascending to approximately 130 Hz. As such, we have designated this a mid-rising tone.

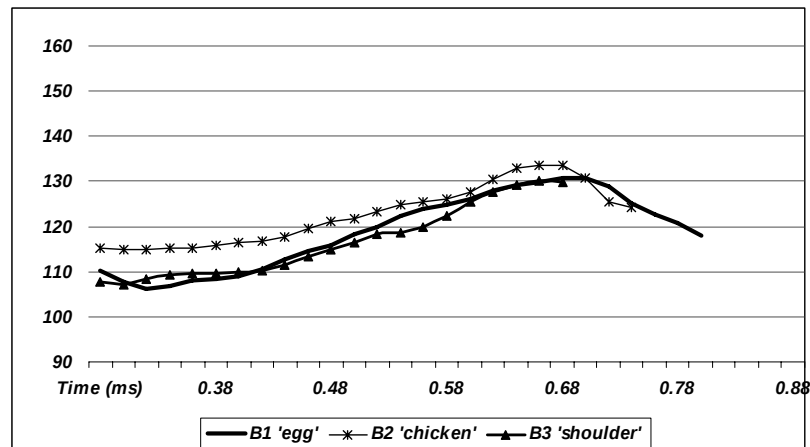


Figure 3: *B1-3 mid-rising tones*

3.4 B4 Tone

The B4 tone begins in approximately the same area (110 Hz) as the mid and mid-rising tones. Nonetheless, the greater portion of the tone contour is in the 100-105 Hz range. Thus, we have designated this a low tone.

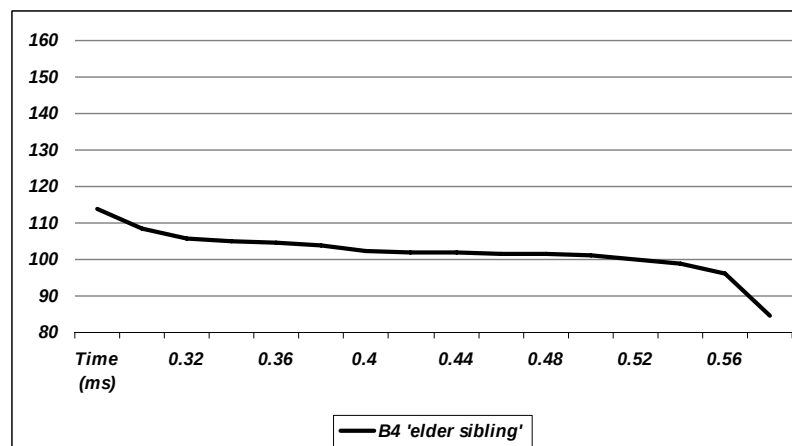


Figure 4: *B4 low tone*

3.5 C1-3 Tones

The C1-3 tones show a contour virtually identical to that of B4. As such, C1-3 are also classified as low tones.

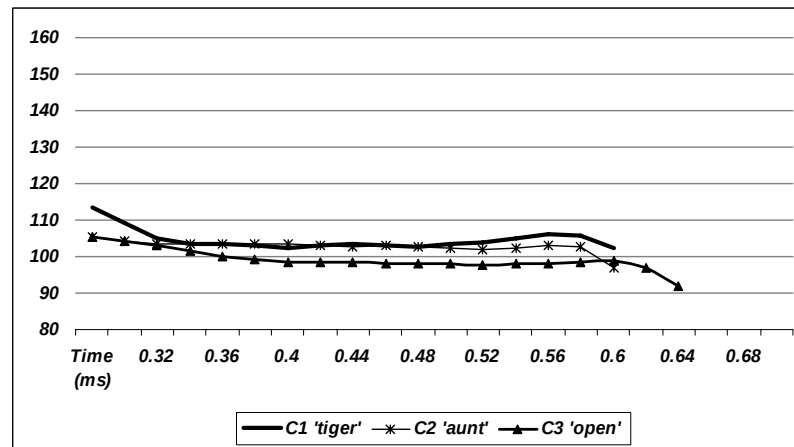


Figure 5: *C1-3 low tones*

3.6 C4 Tone

The Tai Ya C4 tone begins in approximately the same range as the A2-3 mid tone (110-120 Hz) before descending to end at 80 Hz. This contrasts with the A4 high-falling tone, which starts much higher. As such, we have designated this a mid-falling tone.

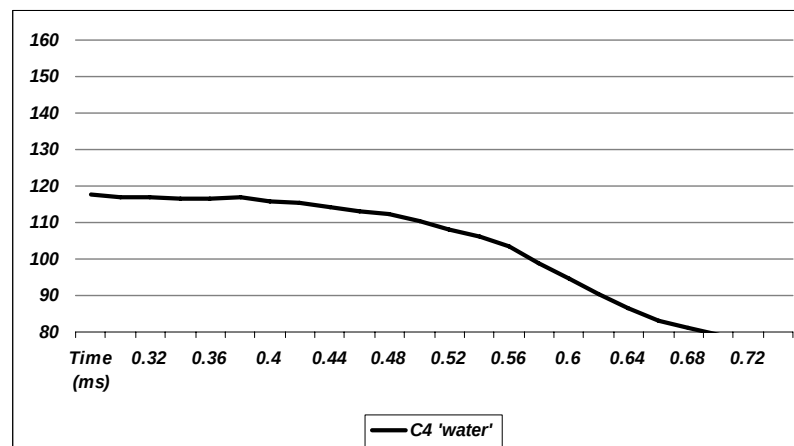


Figure 6: *C4 mid-falling tone*

3.7 DS1-3 Tones

The DS1-3 contours are primarily in the 100-105 Hz range, similar to the C1-3 tones. As such, DS1-3 are likewise designated as low tones.

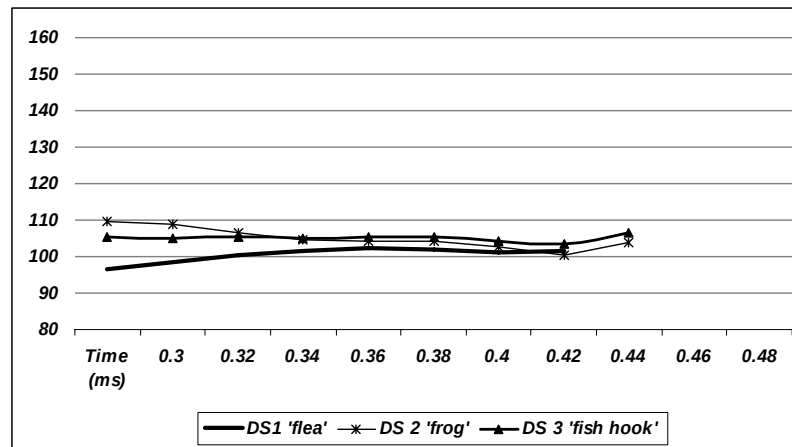


Figure 7: *DS1-3 low tones*

3.8 DS4 Tone

The Tai Ya DS4 tone begins at 109 Hz before beginning a steady descent to 95 Hz. This is roughly comparable to the plot for the C4 mid-falling tone. That the DS4 tone does not end quite as low as the C4 tone is not unexpected, given that the DS4 tone occurs in checked syllables.

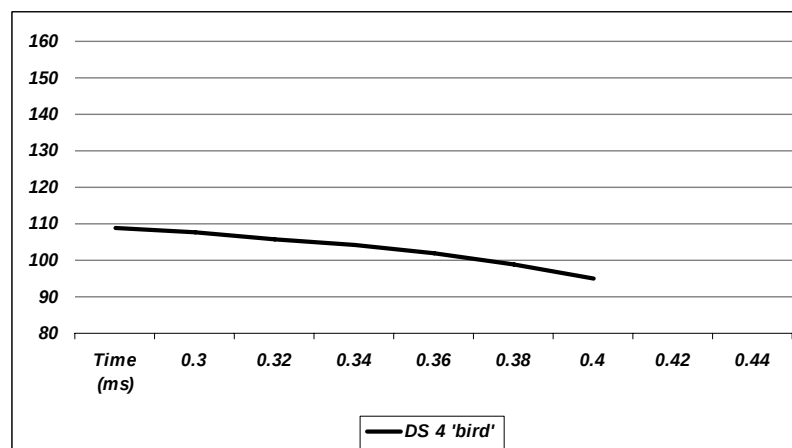


Figure 8: *DS4 mid-falling tone*

3.9 DL1-3 Tones

The DL1-3 tones begin at approximately 110 Hz before ascending 10-20 Hz. As such, we have designated this a mid-rising tone.

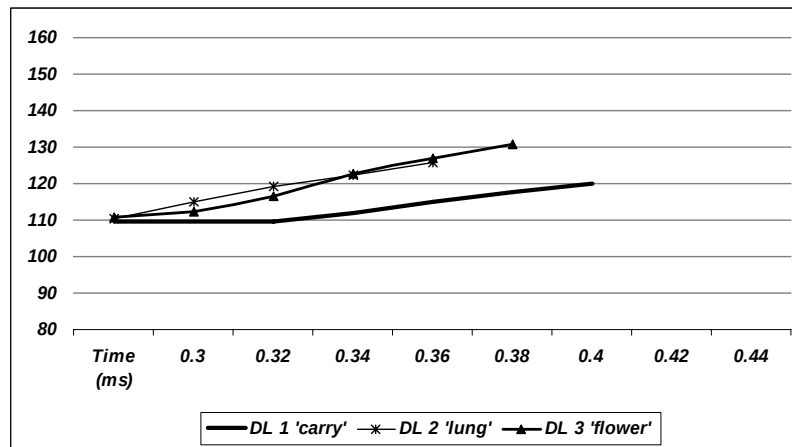


Figure 9: DL1-3 mid-rising tone

3.10 DL4 Tone

The Tai Ya DL4 tone remains in the 115-120 Hz range through most of its duration. This is comparable to the A2 mid-level tone, and has been designated as such.

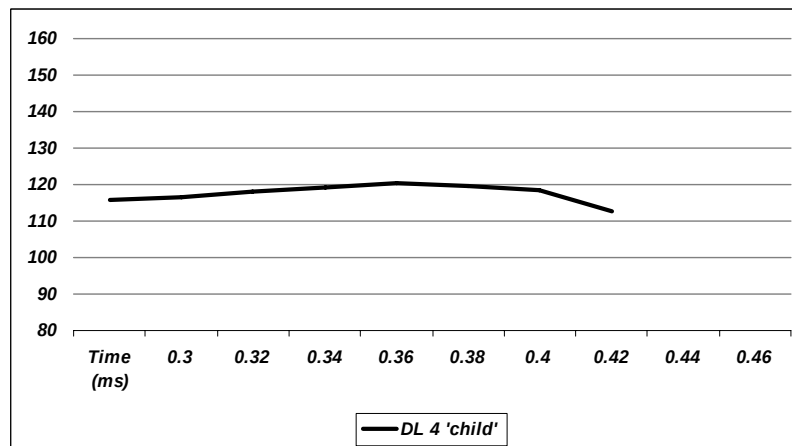


Figure 10: DL4 mid-level tone

3.11 A1 Tone

As mentioned earlier, the A1 tone of Tai Ya is somewhat enigmatic. For all the other tone boxes, the instincts of a linguistically aware native speaker (Mr. Yang) matched the instrumental results. For example, Mr. Yang would have designated C4 as a mid-falling tone without the assistance of the computer.

In the case of A4, however, Mr. Yang's instinct and the instrumental results were at odd; he felt it to be a high level tone, while the computer reveals more of a rising tone. To further compound matters, several linguistically aware native speakers of Thai were asked to listen to the utterance, and give their opinions. They agreed with Mr. Yang in designating this a high level tone. Several non-Thai (North American and Australian) linguists, upon hearing this utterance, agreed with the instrumental analysis in designating this a rising tone.

Why would native speakers of tonal languages perceive this tone differently than native speakers of non-tonal languages? We will leave that question to other researchers!

For the purposes of this paper, then, we have designated A1 a high (rising) tone, giving prominence to native speaker intuition while noting the instrumental realities.

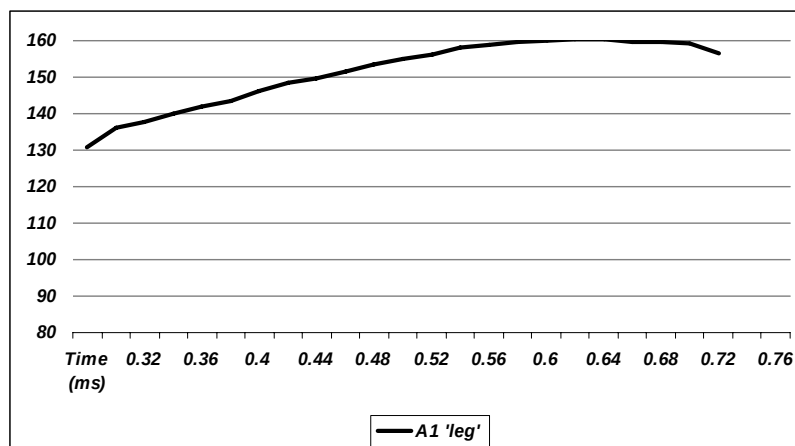


Figure 11: *A1 high (rising) tone*

3.12 Summary of tonal analysis

From the analysis above, we can conclude that Thai Ya exhibits six phonemic tones: high (rising), high-falling, mid, mid-rising, mid-falling, and low. Figure 12 illustrates the six tones in open syllables:

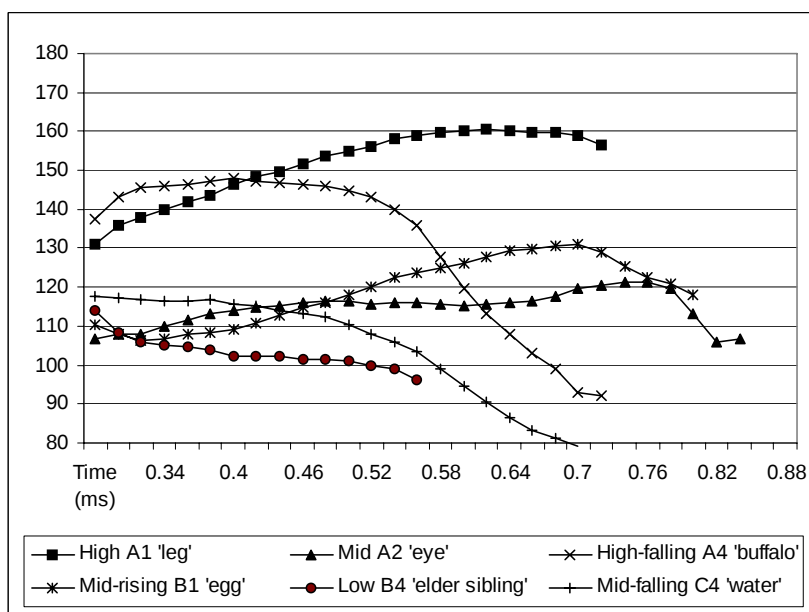


Figure 12: *The six tones of Tai Ya (open syllables)*

The Gedney boxes for Tai Ya would thus appear as follows:

	A	B	C	DS	DL
1	High(rising)	Mid-rising	Low	Low	Mid-rising
2	Mid				
3					
4	High-falling	Low	Mid-falling	Mid-falling	Mid

Figure 13: *Gedney boxes for Tai Ya*

4. Comparison with other research

As mentioned earlier, the Tai Ya language and culture have been subject to less academic scrutiny than many of their larger neighbors. However, a brief report of previous research is very much in order. We have included this in the latter part of this paper, rather than at the beginning, because some of the findings of previous researchers are in slight disagreement with the findings of this paper.

The first linguist known to have studied Tai Ya was the legendary Xing Gongwan. The year was 1946. Xing Gongwan was 24 at the time, and it is reported to have taken him a full month to reach the Tai Ya area by pack horse. Nonetheless, it appears that, like many of us, Xing Gongwan's data collection outpaced the time he had for writing; his 1946 research was updated by one of his students, Shi Ling, in 1983, but his book *The Tai Language at the Origin of the Red River* (in Pinxin: *Honghe Shang You Dai Ya Yu*) was not published until 1989! By counting tones in closed and open syllables separately, he claimed eleven tones for Tai Ya, one more tone than would be indicated by this research and/or Mr. Yang's personal experience. Xing Gongwan also claimed that Tai Ya had consonant clusters, something that Mr. Yang has not found.

More recently, Mr. Yang and several Chinese colleagues have prepared a new linguistic description of Tai Ya. This book (in press) is also in Chinese, although the Tai Ya in Thailand have sent it to Hong Kong to be translated into English so that they can put it on the Tai Ya website. In this book, Mr. Yang describes the six tones of Tai Ya. He was not then familiar with the Gedney boxes or computer programs for plotting tone. The only difference between Mr. Yang's book and this paper lies with the A1 high (rising) tone enigma, mentioned earlier.

In 1991, Dr. Ruangdet Pankhuenkhat of Mahidol University studied Tai Ya as spoken in Chiang Rai, Thailand. He utilized the Gedney box, but his results were significantly different from the one posited by Professor Yang and myself. In fact, his Gedney box is identical to that of Central Thai. In addition, Professor Ruangdet found Thai-like long-short vowel contrast (something which the Tai Ya in China do not have), and found five fewer consonants than Mr. Yang. All of this led Professor Ruangdet to

suggest that Tai Ya was more closely related to Central Thai (Siamese) than it was to Tai Lue, Tai Yong, or Northern Thai. In his book on Tai Ya, Professor Ruangdet expresses his own surprise at his findings; it seems counter-intuitive that Tai Ya would be more closely related to Bangkok Thai than to its neighbors.

However, Professor Ruangdet's language assistant for Tai Ya was a relative of Mr. Yang, and the explanation of Professor Ruangdet's analysis lies with the material he had to work with. This language assistant was born in a Tai Ya village in China, and migrated to Thailand to live in the Tai Ya village in Chiang Rai at the age of 16. When Professor Ruangdet met this man, he was already advanced in age, having lived his entire life among his fellow Tai Ya speakers. All these factors would naturally lead any researcher to conclude that this man would make an excellent language assistant. Nonetheless, Mr. Yang has said that this man (now deceased) was simply not a good speaker of Tai Ya. In fact, the man's children speak better Tai Ya than their father, and other Tai Ya used to poke fun at his speech. Professor Ruangdet's analysis was perfect; the problem lay entirely with his language assistant!

Thus, while Professor Ruangdet's book contains some excellent information about the Tai Ya, some of the linguistic data should be re-examined with other Tai Ya speakers.

5.0 The classification issue

Perhaps it is because of Xing Gongwan's analysis (with eleven tones and consonant clusters) and A. Ruangdet's conclusions (with tonal and vowel length features more consistent with Central Thai) that Tai Ya is listed in SIL's Ethnologue as "unclassified" with respect to its place in Southwestern Tai. We feel that additional research could quickly establish the relationship between Tai Ya and its Southwestern Tai neighbors.

6.0 Conclusions

This paper has examined the results of instrumental analysis on the tones of the Tai Ya language as spoken in Yunnan, China. The Gedney box wordlist was utilized as the basis for analysis. Tai Ya was found to exhibit six phonemic tones in open syllables: high (rising), high-falling, mid, mid-rising, mid-falling, and low. Four of these, mid, mid-rising, mid-falling, and low, are also found in closed syllables.

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GRAMMATICALIZATION AND THE DISCOURSE DISTRIBUTION OF SERIAL VERBS IN ASSAMESE¹

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1. Areal-typological preliminary

Assamese, the majority language of Assam state in Northeast India, is not often included among “Southeast Asian” languages. An Indo-Aryan language, its closest genetic relatives are Bengali and Oriya, and its relation to Hindi is not thought to be remote (Pattanayak 1966; Grimes 1996). However, as the easternmost Indo-Aryan language, Assamese is also situated precisely at the western frontiers of Southeast Asia. Mainly spoken in the plains of the Brahmaputra river valley, it has long been in contact with speakers of the many Tibeto-Burman, Austro-Asiatic and Tai languages found throughout the plains and, particularly, throughout the surrounding hills (Kakati 1995). Assamese is spoken as a second or trade language by millions of Northeast Indians, and has been fully or partially creolized repeatedly throughout its history; the most well-documented example of this is “Nagamese”, an Assamese-based creole which many residents of Nagaland and neighbouring areas now speak as a first language (Bhattacharjya 2001).

As might be anticipated given these available influences, Assamese has shed some stereotypically South Asian features and taken on some features more commonly found in Southeast Asian languages. Modern Assamese has a greatly reduced segment inventory, with alveolar rather than the more usual Indic dental and retroflex stops and continuants. It has also lost earlier verbal cross-referencing of gender and number, and has a relatively reduced and pragmatically-sensitive set of case-forms (Goswami and Tamuli 2003; Edwards 2004). At the same time, Assamese has gained young but evidently robust systems of numeral classifiers and relator nouns (Benom MS), and can in general be said to have shifted towards a relatively more isolating morphological profile than its ancestors and Indic neighbors.² Another important feature of Assamese, potentially related to contact with Southeast Asian languages and/or shift toward a more isolating typology, is a construction which will be analyzed here as a variety of verb serialization.

¹ This work is based on research initially conducted at the University of Oregon, and later at Gauhati University, Assam. I thank my Assamese consultants, Tanusri Borgohain, Priyanka Roy, and Jyotiprakash Tamuli, and my Thai consultant Duangkamol Sutthiwari. Helpful comments on earlier versions came from Nick Enfield, James Matisoff, Eric Pederson, and Jyotiprakash Tamuli. All errors remain mine.

² There are even some reports of tonogenesis in consort with the simplification of rhymes in certain western dialects of Assamese (Stephen Morey, p.c.), however the subject remains to be fully investigated.

2. Verb serialization in Assamese

The construction I will analyze here as a “serial verb construction” has usually been described in the South Asian tradition as a “compound” or “explicator compound” verb (Burton-Page 1957; Hacker 1961; Hook 1974; Kachru and Pandharipande 1980; Nespital 1989; Brown 1997), and is also discussed as a type of “converb” or “conjunct(ive) participial” construction (Bisang 1995 and references therein). I give a brief overview of the construction here; for more detailed discussion of a “serial verb” analysis, see Post (2006) and also Kachru (1993). Consider the Assamese sentence in (1).

- 1) *xɔdai ratipua xita-e rokʰ-i sula-tu-k*
 every morning Sita-ERG **stop-NF** garment-DEF-ACC
sa-i thak-e
watch-NF stay-3.SUB
 ‘Every morning Sita stops and gazes at the coat.’
 (Data from Keri Edwards, RC:5; gloss adjusted MP)³

Three verbs occur in the sentence, ‘stop,’ ‘watch,’ and ‘stay.’ The first two verbs are marked as non-finite, while the final verb is inflected for tense and agreement. All verbs share the same subject, and TAM and agreement markers have scope over all verbs.

Despite the occurrence of three verbs, the interpretation is of only two distinct events, which are directly coded by the first two verbs. The third verb ‘stay’ appears to be modifying the second verb aspectually, in this case adding a sense of taking place over an extended duration. Such a scenario is of course familiar to students of verb serializing languages. Consider the Thai sentence in (2).

- 2) *phrɔ́wâa hɛ́n kin phǎnlamáaj jùu.*
 because **see eat** fruit **stay**
 ‘...because (he) sees (they) are eating fruit.’ (PF TG:4)

As in the Assamese example, two events are denoted, with the third verb functioning grammatically, projecting Durative aspect onto the event denoted by the second. This outcome owes to the tendency for frequent, semantically general serial verbs to undergo grammaticalization.

³ Data in this paper are drawn primarily from natural and elicited texts, transcribed in consultation with native speakers by the author or by others where cited. References of the form XX:# refer to a text and page or line number; data not so marked have been elicited from native speaker consultants. Assamese data are given in a practical orthography, following IPA except where, r=[ɹ], z=[ʒ], h=[^h] / T_ and [ɸ] / D_ , #_ ; since my transcriptions reflect the actual speech of my consultants, who are each of relatively diverse dialect backgrounds (but correspond in most details to Goswami and Tamuli’s (2003) “Western Assamese”), they may differ somewhat from transcriptions found elsewhere in the literature. Thai data follows Haas (1964), with the exception that Haas’ syllable-final voiced stops are transcribed here as voiceless, and Haas’ *y* is given as IPA *ɨ*.

3. Serial verbs and grammaticalization

Grammaticalization of serial verbs as indicators of TAM, case, and other verb or NP-modifying functions is widely attested in West African and Southeast Asian languages and creoles (Matisoff 1969; Li and Thompson 1973; Givón 1975, 1991; Lord 1993 and references therein), as well as in Amazonia, Oceania and New Guinea (Aikhenvald 2006). Serial verbs arise initially via a typologically common strategy for clause integration; in principle, clauses are simply juxtaposed, and the extended potential for elements shared among them (subject, tense, polarity...) to be omitted is readily exploited by speakers (Givón 1991). In the extreme case, clause integration through serialization leads to predicate integration, in which frequent and semantically general verbs are reanalyzed as playing a functional role, usually with respect to a semantic main verb or one or more of the arguments of its erstwhile predication (Givón 1995; Post 2007).

Likewise in Assamese, we find a set of verbs in V2 position in the construction [V1 V2] (where V1 is the semantic main verb in a clause) performing aspectual or other types of modification of V1. Table 1 lists the verbs of this type found to date. Illustrative examples together with some preliminary functional description may be found in Post (2006); in the interest of space, I give only a single example here (3), although others may be found elsewhere in this paper.

VRoot	Meaning as lexeme	Function in chain-final position
<i>as-</i>	‘have/exist’	Progressive aspect
<i>thak-</i>	‘stay’	Durative aspect
<i>lo-</i>	‘take’	Inward-directedness; Diminution
<i>di-</i>	‘give’	Outward-directedness; Willfulness; Diminution
<i>go-</i>	‘go’	Motion away from reference point
<i>ah-</i>	‘come’	Motion towards reference point
<i>pela-</i>	‘throw’	‘Disposal’ perfect
<i>pa-</i>	‘get’	Attainment
<i>sa-</i>	‘see’	‘Tentative’ aspect ⁴

Table 1: Summary of Assamese verb roots with grammatical function in V2 position

- 3) *manuh ei goraki-e sãh kha-i*
 man PRX woman-ERG tea eat-NF
 boh-i as-il-e.
 sit-NF **have/exist**-PST-3.SUB
 ‘this woman **was sitting** and **drinking** tea’
 (Data from Joana Jansen, BP:1; adjusted MP)

⁴ ‘Tentative’ aspect is used here in the sense of Matisoff (1973).

Deriving diachronically from a conjunctive participial construction of the type found widely in South Asia, as well as e.g. Japanese, semantically particular verbs in an Assamese serial construction continue to denote a closely-related sequence of temporally or analytically distinct events; so, in example (3), ‘eat’ and ‘sit.’ However, frequent and semantically general verbs in V2 position may be reanalyzed and come to play a functional role in the context of an integrated predicate whose semantic head is V1.

It will be noted that the final verb, unlike in e.g. most Southeast Asian languages, is in a finite (inflected) form. In the statistical majority of cases in Assamese, the grammatically-functioning verb occupies this position in the clause. However, it need not; consider example (4).

- 4) *mone-mone xi ta-r gos-tu-r pas*
 quietly 3.M.SUB 3-GEN tree-DEF-GEN back
phal-e go-i pela-i sa-is-e.
 side-LOC go-NF throw-NF see-PF-3.SUB
 ‘He quietly went behind his tree and looked.’
 (Data from Joana Jansen, FS:44; adjusted MP)

This may be directly compared to a Thai sentence like (5), in which a grammatically-functioning serial verb is again found among verbs coding distinct events.

- 5) *ʔai dèk phûuchaaj kô mǎnkàp hǎn*
 PRO kid male SFOC same.as turn
paj mɔŋ dèk phûujǎ.
 go stare kid female
 ‘So the boy, like, turned back⁵ to gape at the girl.’
 (PF WR:3)

Configurations such as in (4) may represent a blend of the structural symmetry exhibited by most serializing languages of Southeast Asia – in which juxtaposition of bare stems is the norm – and the relatively more asymmetric “converb” languages of South, North, and Northeast Asia.⁶ That is: symmetry is exhibited among the non-finite-marked verbs – whatever their function – while the asymmetry of the finite/nonfinite distinction dominates the clause overall.

It will be noted that grammaticalization of the verbs shown in Table 1 remains relatively shallow. The functions they code are in most cases transparently related to the lexical semantics of the source form, and there is no evidence at all of phonological discontinuity between grammatically and lexically-functioning iterations of any chain-final verbs; nor does there seem to be evidence of any irregular patterns of inflection. However, a number of chain-medial serial verbs, unhindered by the responsibilities of inflection,

⁵ The sense of Thai *paj* ‘go’ here is, as it is frequently when following a semantic main verb, ‘motion away from a reference point’, hence, ‘back’. Whether it may additionally be said to function with respect to the following lexical verb is an interesting question which would merit further study.

⁶ I use the term “symmetry” here in the sense of Bisang (1995).

have developed further than the chain-final verbs illustrated in Table 1, in some cases even so far as to have become affixes.

3. Rise of new grammatical morphology from serial verbs

3.1. *hoi* ‘become.NF’ > Copula (Nonpast)

As a lexeme, *hoi* has the sense ‘become’ (6). It is therefore readily adapted to nominal predication and attributions with an inchoative aspect or nonpast time reference (not shown). Its serialized, non-finite form (7) has apparently generalized as a nonpast copula in the functions of attribution, proper inclusion and equation (Edwards 2004). The new copular form, unlike the source lexeme, does not inflect; (8-9) show this form in sentence-final position.⁷

- 6) *ta-r gutei-khini letera hoi-l aru*
 3-GEN all-CLF dirty **become**-PST and.then
 sandwich por-il
 sandwich fall-PST
 ‘...all his things **got** dirty, and his sandwich fell.’
 (Data from Joana Jansen, SS:7; adjusted MP)

- 7) *mɔi ram-ɔr hoi thak-im*
 1.NOM Ram-GEN **COP** stay-1.FUT
 ‘I will always **be** Ram’s.’ (Edwards (2004: 30))

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>8) <i>mɔi xitɔl hoi</i>
 1.NOM cold COP
 ‘I’m cold.’
 (Edwards (2004: 25))</p> | <p>9) <i>ta-i satri hoi</i>
 3-F student.F COP
 ‘She is a student.’
 (Edwards (2004: 25))</p> |
|--|--|

4.2. *di* ‘give.NF’ > Means > ~ Instrumental > ~ Perlative

In a typologically unusual case, chain-medial *di* ‘give.NF’ appears to have developed probably distinct functions as an Instrumental marker on the one hand and marker of a Perlative oblique NP on the other. The common ancestor of both form appears to be an oblique NP-marker denoting Means (9). That the erstwhile serial verb *di* ‘give.NF’ in (9) functions as an NP-marker rather than a verb can be demonstrated by a variety of standard tests which space prevents us from detailing here. Most interesting though is the occurrence of a seemingly nonfunctional vowel -e, whose provenance is unknown. It may owe to the collapse of the Ergative marker (perhaps with an earlier Instrumental function) with the erstwhile serial verb into a single suffixal unit; schematically, “giving using money” > “by way of money”.

⁷ Jyotiprakash Tamuli informs me that in most dialects of Assamese, use of the *hoi* copula in simple predications has a contrastive or emphatic value (“she *is* a student”).

- 9) *mɔi ta-k pɔisa-edi bandhu kor-il-u*
 1.NOM 3-ACC money-MEANS friend do-PST-1.SUB
 ‘I befriended him by way of money’

Means marker *-edi* may also mark Instruments in Western Assamese, and in some dialects is interchangeable with the perhaps more traditional Eastern Assamese Instrumental marker *-ere* (10a-b). Note that there is no semantic residue of an act of “giving” in this case; note also continuity of the *-e* vowel in the Instrumental suffix *-ere*.

- 10a) *mɔi manuh-tu-k kitap-edi mar-il-u.*
 1.NOM man-DEF-ACC book-INST hit-PST-1.SUB
 ‘I hit the man **by way of** a book.’
- 10b) *mɔi manuh-tu-k kitap-ere mar-il -u.*
 1.NOM man-DEF-ACC book-INST hit-PST-1.SUB
 ‘I hit the man **with** a book.’

Finally, erstwhile serial verb *di-* can mark a Perlative oblique NP. Here, the *-e* vowel is absent, which, in this case, may owe historically to the absence of an Ergative/Instrumental marker on the nominal head. Again, however, it seems that the likely bridge was the sense of Means.

- 11) *xita-e e-khon kapur-ɔr dukən-di par*
 Sita-ERG one-CLF clothes-GEN store-PER past

hɔ-i dza-e.
 become-NF go-3.SUB
 ‘Sita went past (~**by way of**) a clothing store.’
 (Data from Keri Edwards, RC:3; adjusted MP)

4.3. *goi* ‘go.NF’, *hi* (< *ahi* ‘come.NF’) < *Deixis*

Serialized nonfinite *goi* ‘go.NF’ and *ahi* ‘come.NF’ have probably quite recently emerged as Deictic indicators, respectively giving Distal or Proximate location of a predicated event or state. In (12), we find nonfinite *goi* ‘go.NF’ functioning perfectly well as a serialized lexical verb. *goi* ‘go.NF’ is then repeated following the lexical main verb, in what looks initially like an afterthought or focus construction.

- 12) *ta-r kukur-tu-e go-i pela-i khub*
 3-GEN dog-DEF-ERG go-NF throw-NF very

moumakhi-r bāh-tu-t bhuk-is-e go-i
 bee-GEN nest-DEF-LOC bark-PF-3 go-NF
 ‘His dog **went over there** and barked at the bees’ nest.’
 (Data from Joana Jansen, FS:25; adjusted MP)

In this postverbal position, a collapse of the rhyme *oi* → *e* may be observed; however, collapse is disallowed for the chain-medial, lexical iteration. In fact, postverbal *goi* ‘go.NF’ and *ahi* ‘come.NF’ no longer code distinct events, but instead locate the event as Distal or Proximate, apparently relative to the location of a previously mentioned event. In this capacity, they are phonologically dependent on the preceding lexical verb. This is perhaps most easily demonstrated by a minimal pair (13-14).

- 13) *mɔi go-i (*ge) kha-l-u.*
 1.NOM go-NF eat-PST-1.SUB
 ‘I **went** and (then) ate.’

- 14) *mɔi kha-l-u goi/ge.*
 1.NOM eat-PST-1.SUB DST/DST
 ‘I ate **over there**.’

(Data and consultation from Jyotiprakash Tamuli, p.c.)

5. Discourse distribution of serial verbs in Assamese

In the preceding sections, I have tried to roughly sketch the nature of the Assamese serial verb construction and to demonstrate two broad types of outcome with respect to grammaticalization of semantically general serialized verbs; first, as relatively shallowly grammaticalized modifiers of a semantic main verb in V2 position – in which they continue to have the potential to host clausal inflections – and second as pure functors deriving from the chain-medial, non-finite, inflection-free form.

In this next section, we deal with the discourse frequency of verb serialization in Assamese. Our text database at present remains quite limited, and these results must therefore be taken as somewhat preliminary. That said, we will have two main goals here: the first goal is to roughly characterize the relative frequency of verb serializations versus other types of predicate construction in Assamese. In doing this, we hope to assess the relative centrality of verb serialization to Assamese grammar, i.e. as a major or minor construction, as well as to assess the likelihood that frequency plays a strong contributing factor in the grammaticalization of serial verbs in Assamese (in addition to semantic generality). We also hope to assess the relative frequency of grammatically functioning verbs to lexically-functioning verbs in serial verb strings. The second goal will be to compare these values to the correlate values in a more well-known serializing language of Southeast Asia, in this case Standard Thai (henceforth “Thai”).

5.1. Frequency distribution

5.1.1. Frequency of sentences containing verb serializations versus other predicate types

In order to discover the relative frequency of serial verb constructions versus other predicate types in Assamese, counts were carried out on a set of seven texts containing a total of 300 sentences. The following four structural types were recognized: 1) sentences containing one finite verb only 2) sentences containing one finite verb and at least one serialized verb (without regard to lexical or grammatical function) 3) sentences containing one finite verb

plus a subordinated (embedded) clause consisting of a single subordinated verb only⁸ 4) sentences containing a finite verb, plus one or more serial verbs, plus a subordinated verb. While other, somewhat less commonly-used structural types may be found in Assamese, the four types defined above were able to adequately characterize all data available in our texts. Table 2 gives the results of this count.

Finite V only		Serial + Finite V		Sub. V + Finite V		All 3		Total Sentences	
N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
122	40.7	134	44.7	31	10.3	13	4.3	300	100

Table 2: *Number and percent of sentences containing serializations and/or other predicate types in Assamese texts*

As shown, we found that sentences containing verb serializations were the most frequent structural type in our Assamese texts. While the frequency of simple predications was comparable, subordination (embedding) is significantly less frequent.

For comparison, the average number of simple versus multi-verb clauses in Thai discourse was calculated from a count of four Pear Stories texts (Chafe 1980). Again, lexical or grammatical function of serialized verbs was not taken as a factor. The total number of clauses counted was 304. Results are in Table 3.

TH	Simple predicates	Serializations	Total
N	111	193	304
%	36.5	63.5	100

Table 3: *Number and percent of Thai clauses in four Pear Stories texts containing simple predicates versus verb serializations*

These results suggest that while the ratio of simple clauses to multiverb constructions is similar in Thai and Assamese, the absolute frequency of verb serializations is somewhat higher in Thai than in Assamese.

5.1.2. *Lexeme-lexeme versus lexeme-functor serializations*

A second count was then conducted, to discover the relative frequency of lexically versus grammatically-functioning serial verbs in Assamese and Thai discourse. “Lexical” verbs were defined semantically for the purpose of this count as those denoting a discrete,

⁸ Several types of subordinate clause occur in Assamese, all of which exhibit a strong asymmetry vis-à-vis the higher clause. An example of the type found most frequently in the texts examined – a purpose (irrealis) adverbial subordination – is given here. For additional discussion of clause types in Assamese, see Goswami and Tamuli (2003) and Edwards (2004).

(14a) [xi kukur-tu-k [mone-mone thaki-bo] ko-is-e]...
 [3.M.NOM dog-DEF-ACC[quiet-quiet stay-SBRD]_{SBRD} say-IPFV-3.SUB]_{MAIN}
 ‘[He tells the dog [to be quiet]]...’ (Edwards (2004:82); adjusted MP)

identifiable event or state. “Functor” verbs were defined as those verbs not independently coding any discernable event or state, but instead modifying an event or state predicated by a second, lexical verb. A “lexeme-lexeme serialization” was defined as a sequence of two lexical verbs. A “lexeme-functor serialization” was defined as a sequence of one lexical verb and one functor verb (as previously defined). Strings of more than two verbs were counted as follows: a string of three lexical verbs was counted as two lexeme-lexeme serializations: one for the first sequence of two verbs, and one for the second. A string of one lexical verb with two associated functor verbs was similarly counted as two lexeme-functor serializations. Reduplications, non-initial members of elaborate expressions, repetitions and stammering were not counted as separate verbs. The following two examples from Assamese and Thai illustrate the counting methodology (L = lexeme, F = functor; AS = Assamese, TH = Thai):

- 15) AS *ako-u xei eke dukan-khon-ot gus-i dza-i*
 again-also DST same store-CLF-LOC **move.away-NF** **go-NF**
 L-----F(1)
 L-----

gus-i go-i ta-hot-or poisa-re
move.away-NF go-NF 3-PL-GEN money-INST
 (not counted)

kin-i pela-i manuh-tu-k di di-e.
buy-NF throw-NF man-DEF-ACC **give.NF give-3.SUB**
 L-----F(2) L-----F(3)
 L(1)-----L(2)
 ‘Again (they) went along to that same store, bought (the food) with their money and gave (it) to the man.’
 (Data from Joana Jansen, SS:9-10; adjusted MP)

Lexeme-lexeme serializations: 2

Lexeme-functor serializations: 3

- 16) TH *phûuchaaj khon nán kô piin klâp khân paj kèp tɔɔ.*
 male CLF DST SFOC **climb return ascend go collect continue**
 L-----F(1)----F(2)----F(3) L L
 L-----L(1)----L(2)
 ‘That man then climbed back on up and continued collecting (the pears).’ (WR:2)

Lexeme-lexeme serializations: 2

Lexeme-functor serializations: 3

Tables 4-5 present the results from the Assamese and Thai texts counts, respectively.

AS	Lexeme-lexeme serializations	Lexeme-functor serializations	Total
N	73	135	208
%	35.1	64.9	100

Table 4 – Assamese serial verb constructions containing lexeme-lexeme versus lexeme-functor serializations in seven texts

TH	Lexeme-lexeme serializations	Lexeme-functor serializations	Total
N	116	234	350
%	33.1	66.9	100

Table 5: *Thai serial verb constructions containing lexeme-lexeme versus lexeme-functor serializations in four texts*

Results from this count suggest that the absolute frequency of verb serializations (as well as verbs per string) is higher in Thai than in Assamese. However, the relative frequency of lexeme-functor to lexeme-lexeme serializations in Assamese is closely comparable to that in Thai.

6. Conclusion

Serializations are more frequent than other complex clause types in Assamese. As a likely result of frequent use, semantically-general serial verbs have developed grammatical functions. A small number have further developed into grammatical morphology.

With respect to serializing languages of Southeast Asia such as Thai, both similarities and differences may be observed. Similar are the diachronic origin, functional motivation, and certain discourse functions of serial verbs in both language groups. However, serial verbs in Assamese are, in general, fewer and less frequent, and appear to handle fewer types of functions, than do serial verbs in Southeast Asian languages. In addition, serial verbs in most Southeast Asian languages do not develop to the point of becoming affixal morphology; however, in Assamese they occasionally do.

These differences are likely to owe at least in part to differences in the typological profile of the languages in question, in particular with respect to the relatively more isolating nature of Mainland Southeast Asian languages versus the relatively more agglutinative morphological profile of Assamese. Additional research on serializing/converb-embedding languages of South Asia with different degrees of agglutinativity may be able to determine whether or not this is the case.

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Abbreviations

1	First person	LOC	Locative
3	Third person	NOM	Nominative
ACC	Accusative	M	Masculine
DEF	Definite/identifiable	NF	Non-finite
CLF	Classifier	PER	Perlative
COP	Copula	PF	Perfect
DST	Distal	PFV	Perfective
DTP	Derogatory pronoun	PRX	Proximate
ERG	Ergative	PST	Past
FUT	Future	SBRD	Subordinate
GEN	Genitive	SFOC	Sequential activity
INST	Instrumental		focus marker
IPFV	Imperfective	SUB	Subject

IMPLEMENTING A LEXICAL APPROACH IN THAI LANGUAGE TEACHING

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Introduction

The Lexical Approach views that the centrality of language learning and communication is collocations of lexical items, multiple word units, or "chunks" which are learned and used as single items (Richards and Rodger, 2001). It is widely believed that the lexical acquisition plays an important part in the learners' language learning and development of communicative competence. This paper aims to explore how the Lexical Approach plays a significant role in the Thai language learning in a classroom context of Singapore students, at the National University of Singapore, Singapore. It begins by a brief description of what the Lexical Approach is, followed by lexical collocations' types. Then, the samples of implementing the Lexical Approach in the communication tasks drawn from the author's experience are discussed. Lastly, it discusses how lexical collocations develop students' language proficiency and communicative competence.

What is Lexis?

A Lexical Approach in language teaching refers to one derived from the belief that the building blocks of language learning and communication are not grammar, functions, notions, or some other unit of planning and teaching but lexis, that is, words and word combinations. Lexical approaches in language teaching reflects a belief in the centrality of the lexicon to language structure, second language learning, and language use, and in particular to multiword lexical units or "chunks" that are learned and used as single items (Richards and Rodgers, 2001).

Nattingger and DeCarrio (1992) described lexical phrases as 'chunks' of language of varying length. In other words, they are multi-word lexical phenomenon that exist somewhere between the traditional poles of lexicon and syntax, conventionalized form/function composites that occur more frequently and have more idiomatically determined meaning than language that is put together each time. These phrases included short, relatively fixed phrases such as *a _____ ago X*, or longer phrases or clauses such as *if I X, then I Y*, *the _____ er Y*, *the _____ Y*, each with a fixed, basic frame, with slots for various fillers (*a year ago*, *a month ago*, *the higher X*, *the longer Y*, *the longer you wait*, *the sleepier you get*).

Gitsaki (1999) used the term 'collocations' when referred to the Lexical patterns, which is described as "sequences of lexical items which habitually [co-occur together]" (Cruse 1986: 40, cited in Gitsaki 1999). Examples of English collocations are: 'thick eyebrows', 'sour milk', 'to commit suicide', 'to reject a proposal', 'suspicious of people who...', relevant to our discussion/ problem/needs.

Linguists and language teachers have referred to lexical units or collocations by many different labels, as cited in Gitsaki (1999):

- ‘combinations of lexical items’ (Korosadowicz-Struzynska, 1980),
- ‘conventionalized language forms’ (Yorio, 1980),
- ‘prefabricated language chunks and routinized formulas’ (Nattinger & Decarrio, 1992),
- ‘prefabricated routines and patterns’ (Hakuta, 1974),
- ‘phrase patterns and sentence patterns’ (Twaddell, 1973),
- ‘holophrases’ (Corder, 1973),
- ‘formulaic speech’ (Wong-Fillmore, 1976),
- ‘word associations’ (Murphy, 1983),
- ‘memorized sentences and lexicalized stems’ (Pawley & Syder, 1983),
- ‘fixed expressions’ (Alexander 1984), ‘formulas’ (Ellis, 1994).

Why the Lexical Approach?

The Lexical Approach is believed to play a central role in learning and in communication. Nattinger commented:

Perhaps we should base our teaching on the assumption that, for a great deal of the time anyway, language production consists of piecing together the ready-made units appropriate for a particular situation and that comprehension relies on knowing which of these patterns to predict in these situations. Our teaching, therefore, would center on these patterns and the ways they can be pieced together, along with the ways they vary and the situations in which they occur.

(Nattinger, 1980: 341, cited in Richards and Rodgers, 2001)

A number of studies revealed a consensus among linguists and language teachers that teaching collocations to second language learners is important, and that it is necessary to include collocations in the second language curriculum, as this can prove to be beneficial for the development of L2 vocabulary, communicative competence, and language performance (Gitsaki, 1999).

A study by Korosadowicz-Struzynsk (1980: 111, cited in Gitsaki, 1999) showed that even advanced students, who have considerable fluency of expression in a foreign language, make collocation errors, and therefore, the teaching and learning of collocations for production reasons should be regarded as essential, while the learners’ mastery of these problematic combinations, rather than her/his knowledge of single words, should be an indication of his/ her progress.

In addition, it is believed that collocations play an essential role in the learners’ vocabulary knowledge and usage. Brown (1974) has suggested that an increase of the students’ knowledge of collocation will result in an improvement of their oral and listening comprehension and their reading speed.

A sociolinguistic perspective sees the word as ‘the most central element in the social system of communication’ (Labov, 1973, p.340, cited in Harley 1995); psycholinguists have characterized the lexicon as “driving” speech production (Levett, 1989, cited in Harley 1995) and standing “at the heart” of listening comprehension (Marslen-Wilson, Tyler Waksler, & Older, 1994, cited in Harley 1995); and the lexicon is said to offer a “unique window on the process of acquisition for language as a whole” (Clark, 1993, p.1).

What would a lexical lesson be like?

Lewis (1998) has suggested that implementation of the lexical approach may involve the following methodological changes:

- record adjective + noun, verb + noun rather than noun alone
- highlight certain expressions as having a special evocative and generative status
- explore the environment in which certain kinds of words occur
- emphasize the pronunciation of lexical chunks, not individual words.
- consciously take every chance to expand the learners' phrasal lexicon
- develop learners' awareness of word-grammar as well as sentence grammar
- highlight fixed expressions and prototypical examples, so ensuring learners have maximum benefit from the language they meet
- encourage accurate observation and noticing by learners, but without excessive analysis
- use many different ways to increase learners' awareness of the value of noticing, recording and learning multi-word items
- encourage learners to keep a well-organized lexical notebook
- encourage lexical, but not structural, comparison between L1 and L2
- help learners to hear and learn language in multi-word units
- talk more informally anecdotes: increase carefully-controlled teacher talking time
- take a global, holistic view (i.e. emphasis on the importance of suprasegmentals rather than individual words or sounds in the teaching of pronunciation, responses to whole texts rather than traditional comprehension of details)
- value successful language at all times. Even it is not formally accurate

Examples of lexical phrases found in the Thai courses at the NUS

I find it useful to draw the students' attention to collocations of different kinds. The following are some examples of lexical phrases regularly found together in the Thai modules (elementary and intermediate levels) taught at the National University of Singapore.

1. Noun + Cardinal number + Classifier
บ้านสามหลัง 'three houses'
หนังสือห้าเล่ม 'five books'
2. Noun+ Quantifier + Classifier
เพื่อนบางคน 'some friends'
อาหารบางชนิด 'some kind of food'
3. Noun + Classifier + Demonstrative
นักเรียนคนนี้ 'this student'
เด็กคนนั้น 'that child'
4. Noun + Adjective
อาหารอร่อย 'good food'
เพื่อนเก่า 'old friend'

5. Verb + Noun
ซื้อของ ‘to buy things’
ซื้อเสื้อผ้า ‘to buy clothes’
6. Noun + Adjective (Stative Verbs)¹
ใจดี ‘to be kind’
ใจเย็น ‘to be calm’
7. Resultative Verb
ฟังทัน ‘to keep up with while listening’
มองเห็น ‘to look at and see’
8. Directional Verb
เดินขึ้นบันได ‘to walk up the stairs’
เดินเข้าห้อง ‘to enter the room’
9. Verb (phrase) + pen (to know how to do something)
ขับรถเป็น ‘to know how to drive’
ทำอาหารเป็น ‘to know how to cook’
10. Attained states: Stative Verb + lɛɛw
พอแล้ว ‘That’s enough.’
ดีแล้ว ‘That’s fine.’
11. Stative Verb + khun/lon
อ้วนขึ้น ‘to get fatter’
ผอมลง ‘to slim down’
12. Verb (phrase) + wáy
เก็บหนังสือไว้ ‘to put away the book for later use’
หุงข้าวไว้กินตอนเย็น ‘to cook the rice to eat this evening’
13. Verb + Noun + Verb (Causatives)
ทำแก้วแตก ‘to break the glass’
ให้เพื่อนช่วยหาบ้านเช่าให้
‘to have a friend look for a house for rent’
14. Verb phrase (serialization)
ไปเดินหาซื้อของ ‘to go look for something to buy’
โทรไปบอกเขาว่า... ‘to call to tell him that...’

¹ Adj. in Thai also functions as Stative verb which describes a state rather than an action, i.e. lɛk is both the adj. ‘small; and the verb ‘to be small’

15. Compound Adjective
น่าสนใจ ‘interesting’
น่าอยู่ ‘good to live in’
16. Adjective + Modifier
ร้อนเกินไป ‘too hot’
สวยจริงๆ ‘really beautiful’
17. Adjective + kwàa
สนุกกว่า ‘more fun’
ไกลกว่า ‘further’
18. Question Word + Adjective + kwàa kan
พ่อกับลูก ใครสูงกว่ากัน ‘Father and son, who is taller?’
อเมริกากับญี่ปุ่น ที่ไหนเย็นกว่ากัน ‘America and Japan, which place is colder?’
19. Adjective + thîi sùt
สิ่งที่สำคัญที่สุดคือ... ‘The most important thing is...’
ผ้าไหมไทยอย่างดีที่สุดจะไม่หด ‘The best Thai silk won’t shrink.’
20. Verb + Adverb
ขับรถเร็ว ‘to drive fast’
พูดภาษาไทยชัด ‘to speak Thai clearly’
21. Verb + Adverb + kwàa
เขาเขียนภาษาไทยดีกว่าผม ‘He writes in Thai better than me.’
ฉันเรียนหนักกว่าเขา ‘I study harder than him.’
22. Miscellaneous
ถ้าอยากจะให้...คุณควร... ‘If you want it to be..., you should...’
ผมก็ว่ายังงั้นเหมือนกัน ‘I think so too.’

(Adapted from Smyth, D. 2002. Thai: An Essential Grammar & Brown, J. M. (1969).
A.U.A. Language Center Thai Course Book1, Book 2 and Book 3)

How do I implement the lexical approach to enhance the learners’ language acquisition?

The following are some sample activities in the Thai 3 module, at the NUS (intermediate level): The first two activities aim at introducing the collocations to students as well as raising students’ awareness of collocations, and simultaneously develop a strategy for reading and mining a reading text for collocations.

1 Error Analysis

Step 1 Prepare a list of lexical errors based on students' written work.

๑ เพื่อนบ้างบอกว่าการทำงานไม่ดี การเรียนดีกว่า

'Some friends said that working is not good. Studying is better.'

๒ เมื่อฉันเรียนหนังสือ ฉันจะมีเวลาทำอะไรอื่นและทำงานได้ด้วย

'When I study, I will have time to do other things and I can work too.'

๓ ถ้าผมมีเงิน ผมอยากจะไปเที่ยวทั้งหมดเมืองไทย

'If I have money, I want to travel throughout Thailand.'

๔ เขาตั้งใจให้เพื่อนยืมสักห้าหกเล่มหนังสือให้

'He wanted to have his friend borrow 5-6 books for him.'

๕ บ้านเขาไม่ค่อยเป็นน่ายอยู่

'His house is not quite nice to live in.'

Step 2 Students were asked to identify the collocation errors, discuss on the type of errors, and make suggestion for corrections. Followings are samples of students' lexical errors:

เพื่อนบ้าง *'some friends'*

* friends + some
(friends + some + Classifier)

ทำอะไรอื่น *'to do other things'*

* do + what + others
(do + kind + others)

ทั้งหมดเมืองไทย *'throughout Thailand'*

* totally + Thailand
(throughout + Thailand, or every where + in + Thailand)

สักห้าหกเล่มหนังสือ *'about 5-6 books'*

* about + 5-6 + Classifier + books
(books + about + 5-6 + Classifier)

ไม่ค่อยเป็นน่ายอยู่ *'not quite good to live in'*

* not + quite + V. to be + good to live in
(not + quite + good to live in)

2 Forming a text using the given collocations...

A set of reading texts were introduced, and I allowed students to choose texts. This aimed at encouraging personal interest and shows learners that collocation is a feature of all texts.

Step 1 After giving a short pre-reading and reading activities based on a text to ensure that learners are confident about their grasp of its general meaning. Prepare a collocation task for the same text by omitting some words from the collocations I wish to bring to bring to learners' attention but leaving a whole line of space like an example here:

มวยไทยเป็นศิลปการป้องกันตัวอย่างหนึ่งของไทย ซึ่งมีตั้งแต่ศตวรรษที่สิบห้าหรือสิบหก
ชาวต่างชาติรู้จักมวยไทยในนามว่าคิกบ็อกซิ่ง เนื่องจากมีการใช้เท้าในการเตะ
นอกจากจะใช้เท้าและหมัดในการชกต่อยแล้ว ยังมีการใช้ศอกและเข่าอีกด้วย

(*Muay Thai* is a Thai martial art which came into existence in the 15th or 16th century. *Muay Thai* is known by foreigners as 'kick boxing' because it involves kicking. Besides feet and fists, elbows and knees are also used.)

มวยไทยเป็นศิลปการป้องกันตัว.....
(*Muay Thai* is a Thai martial art)
ซึ่งมีตั้งแต่.....
(which came into existence)
ชาวต่างชาติรู้จักมวยไทย.....
(*Muay Thai* is known by foreigners)
นอกจากจะใช้เท้าและหมัดในการชกต่อยแล้ว.....
(Besides feet and fists)

(Adapted from Poomsan Becker, B. 2000. Thai for Advanced Readers)

Step 2 Remove the reading text and provided learners with a gapped version. Let learners in small groups make suggestions to fill in the gaps. I told students that if they could not remember the text, they may suggest alternated chunks or lexical phrases to fill in the gaps.

Step 3 Return the original version. Have them compare their suggestions with the original text.

Step 4 Probably, it is the most important stage. I distributed another short text, and let learners suggest gaps for a similar practice.

Discussion

The activities have encouraged learners to learn words from their context, in other words, to learn words not on their own, but together with other words, and categorize items as useful for writing essay, discussion etc...To learn collocations, it is seen that the importance of

looking at and recording words in groups rather individually have been discovered by learners themselves. The presented activities are examples of implementing the lexical approach – it is planned, learner-centered, reflective, aimed at developing learners' language awareness in ways which will be helpful throughout their language learning.

3. Key words ถ้าจะให้...ควรจะ... (If you want it..., you should....)

Step 1 Introduce the key words or collocation. Ensure that students understand by doing some oral activities: use the pattern to ask; ***If you want it to be more fun, what should you do?*** Then a student responded; ***If I want it to be more fun, I should...***

Step 2 Then, I reinforced their understanding by asking students to match the following phrases so that they would have complete sentences with the lexical pattern ถ้าจะให้...ควรจะ... 'If you want it..., you should....'

- ก. ถ้าจะให้ดี ๑. ควรซื้อตอนที่ม่ Grand sale
- ข. ถ้าจะให้ดี ๒. ควรใส่สีขาว
- ค. ถ้าจะให้เข้าใจ ๓. ควรรอให้ฉันว่างก่อน
- ง. ถ้าจะให้ดู ๔. ควรเตือนเขาอีกที
- จ. ถ้าจะให้ถูก ๕. ควรใส่เกลืออีกหน่อย
- ฉ. ถ้าจะให้สวย ๖. ควรโทรไปหาเขา
- ช. ถ้าจะให้ได้ของสด ๗. ควรไปถามอาจารย์
- ซ. ถ้าจะให้สนุก ๘. ควรจะบอกเขา
- ฌ. ถ้าจะให้ร่อย ๙. ควรเปิดเพลงไทย
- ญ. ถ้าจะให้สบายใจ ๑๐. ควรซื้อที่ตลาด

Step 3 Divide students into small groups. Ask them to form a dialogue using the collocations that they have just met and practiced. While preparing the script for the dialogues, learners got to work on writing down cohesive version. I noticed that the students certainly have fun doing this. They came up with interesting conversation. What's more important, they gain an awareness of a very useful lexical pattern in Thai. The goal is not to master a rule, but to acquire tools for real communication.

Discussion

This example shows the Lexical Approach implemented can make lessons fun, useful, valuable, challenging, and enriching for students' language learning. My students told me they felt they left the classroom feeling that they have learned something they can use right away and not have to think about lexicalizing some grammatical structure at some point in the future. The language is easily tested, reviewed and built on. This activity may resemble a traditional-based grammar practice, but the target of language learning has changed. Though it's a small change in procedure but it moves the emphasis from traditional grammar to a more lexical focus.

4. What do you say when...?

Step 1 Divide students into small groups. Let each group choose to work on a situation as following.

1. คุณกำลังเตรียมตัวไปงานวันเกิดเพื่อน
'You are preparing yourself to your friend's birthday party.'
2. คุณไม่สบายไปโรงเรียนไม่ได้
'You are unwell and can not go to school.'
3. คุณกำลังหาห้องเช่าให้เพื่อน
'You are looking for a room for rent for your friend.'
4. เมื่อเรียนจบ คุณอยากจะไปเที่ยวเมืองนอก
'When you graduate, you want to go abroad.'
5. คุณยังตกลงใจไม่ได้ว่าจะเรียนต่อหรือทำงาน
'You have not decided if you want to further your study or work.'

Step 2 Have students form a dialogue based on their selected scenario. I asked them to write what they want to say during a conversation. Then, I encouraged them to discuss some expressions with the whole class. Lastly, I let each group make a presentation to the class.

Discussion

This activity gets students revise and use useful phrase or sentences learned recently in a cohesive version or connected manner. It is believed that this activity encourages learners to use expressions fluently and correctly.

5. Happy Families

Prepare several sets of cards: a card with useful nouns, a card with useful verbs, a card with useful adjectives or stative verbs, and a card with useful adverbs. In each card, I have prepared recently acquired words, as a follow-up to a text studied in a recent lesson. Have students form a group of four; one holds a card containing a set of words. Learners take turns to ask: Have you got (a verb) that goes with (letter)? Have you got (a noun) that goes with (to waste)? They discuss and collect matched pairs (collocations) and play until no more matches can be made.

Nouns	Verbs	Stative Verbs (Adjectives)	Adverbs
รถ	พูด	ร้อน	ช้า
ผ้าไหมไทย	เขียน	อย่างดีที่สุด	อีกที
อากาศ	อยากได้	ปลอดภัย	ซ้ำซ้ำ
เงิน	คอย	สามเล่ม	อีกหน่อย
แมว	อยู่	น่าน้อย	ข้างนอก
คนอื่น	มี	ว่าง	พอ
เวลา	ซื้อ	แพงกว่า	ทุกวัน
ราคา	ลด	ไม่สบาย	ดีห้า
นม	ขาย	สะดวก	เมื่อสักครู่นี้เอง
โทรศัพท์	อาจจะ	เสีย	นานไป

Discussion

This activity increases the value learners get from language they already know, by helping to overcome the problem we discussed earlier where learners are often unaware of possible collocations of words they regard as already fully known.

6. Lexical Drills: Some key words with contexts.

At the end of a class, I asked learners to give an expression or a sentence which contains the following lexical items. I did it orally, went round the class at a brisk pace.

ขอ...หน่อย *'May I...?'*

ไม่ค่อย... *'not quite'*

...กว่ากัน *'more than...'*

...ทำด้วย... *'made of...'*

ทั้ง...และ... *'both...and...'*

เพียง...เมื่อ... *'just...when...'*

ติดต่อเรื่อง... *'to contact about...'*

...บ้างได้ไหม *'May I...some...?, Could you...some...?'*

...เผื่อว่า... *'in the case that...'*

อีกนานถึงจะ... *'It will be a long time before...'*

Alternatively, I called out an expression learnt and a student can answer or respond to me.

Discussion

The choice of language item is collocation ... The whole activity reminds learners of chunks in a very light-hearted moment at the end of an activity or at the end of a lesson.

Lexis in the classroom: Practicing in the Lexical Approach

The following are the important points that should be considered in implementing the Lexical Approach in a classroom (Lewis, 1998):

Learning Strategies

It is suggested that at any point the learners' lexicon contains items which are fully available for recognition and production, items which are understood in context but are not fully acquired, and others which are known, but actually misunderstood in some way. Class time is best used to maximize the likelihood of learners turning input into intake. I have ensured class time is better spent helping learners develop strategies for dealing with unknown items they meet when listening or reading, particularly the ability to guess on the basis of context, situation or lexical clues, rather than laborious practice aimed at consolidating individual items. Similarly, with the learners' active lexicon, I have adopted activities which raise awareness and encourage effective recording of patterns rather than too much concentration on individual items. To enhance that helpful or efficient learning strategies are used, I always emphasize the followings to students:

- Don't worry if you don't understand everything when listening or reading; a lot of listening and reading, partially understood, will help you much more than a small quantity where you have understood every word.
- Don't worry about confusion and mistakes; they are a positive sign that you partly understand, not a negative one that you didn't understand anything.
- Try to learn whole expressions containing useful words, rather than just the words, even though that seems much more difficult.
- When you record a new lexical pattern in your notebook, consciously try to think of other examples similar to those of the pattern. It is not wasting time to explore certain words slowly and carefully.

Classroom participation

In my class, I ensure that the quality of the teacher's talk and classroom activities encourage learners' active participation and acquisition, and provide opportunities for speech. Learners are encouraged to participate fully in lesson, but it's recognized that although they may participate through speaking, they can also do so, perhaps sometimes more effectively, by listening, noticing, and reflecting. The challenge task of the teacher is to keep learners fully involved and producing the language that they are exposed to.

Repetition

Research evidence reveals that repeating certain kinds of activity such as summarizing a text orally one day and again and a few days later maybe the most effective way of improving learners' language. This applies to both lexical and grammatical knowledge. Many researchers have concluded that we acquire an individual word by meeting it a number of

times; typically they suggest you are likely to acquire a word after meeting seven times. This does not mean the word needs to be explicitly taught seven times; indeed, according to some linguists, meeting it frequently with no explicit teaching is both a necessary and sufficient condition for its acquisition. It is believed that each time you meet a word in context and (at least partly) understand it, you understand more of its meaning, and gradually integrate it into your lexicon for immediate access. Although such research was done on vocabulary or 'new words', there is every reason to suppose that exactly similar considerations apply to multi-word lexical items, providing they are perceived as single lexical items. Some important applications are as following:

- Course books should deliberately recycle lexis
- Consciously 'learning the new words' in each unit is unlikely to be sufficient for them to be fully acquired without some revising
- Teachers should consciously recycle Collocations and Expressions in the rough-tuned input they provide through talking informally to the class.

Noticing

In my sample activities and exercises presented earlier, one of their main goals is to raise learners' awareness of the lexical chunks and the lexical features of the target language. Accurate noticing of lexical chunks helps convert input into intake, and this provides the central strategy of the Lexical Approach. It has been believed that exercises and activities which help learners observe or notice the target language more accurately ensure quicker and more carefully-formulated hypotheses about the target language, and so aid acquisition.

Some Concluding Remarks

Lexis provides the component chunks of language and, if learners are to make best use of the language they meet they need gradually to develop an awareness of chunks of different kinds. Lexis brings together elements of language learning previously usually treated separated – grammar, words and pronunciation; in bringing them together it helps learners turn input into intake. The teacher's job is to encourage good learning strategies and to help learners notice the language they meet more accurately, thereby making it more likely than input will become intake.

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THE CLASSIFICATION OF KENYAH LANGUAGES: A PRELIMINARY STATEMENT

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1. Introduction

Kenyah languages are used by some ethnic groups originally inhabiting the highlands and several river basins on either side of the border between Sarawak (Malaysia) and East Kalimantan (Indonesia) in the island of Borneo. This ethnic group represents only one of the many groups that form the totality of the cultural and ethnic variety in Borneo. However, the ethnonym 'Kenyah' refers to several groups, which ethnically and culturally, as well as according to their origin stories, are quite different. Several groups including Kenyah, Kayan and Punan are often mixed together through residential mixing and intermarriage which in turn yields ethnic and linguistic mixing because of the obvious contacts among groups. Although Kenyah people recognize features their groups share in common, there is no commonly accepted indigenous term for the entire complex. The people themselves justify this endonymic labelling by referring to various origin myths but are usually unable to explain the origin of the endonym itself. According to Rousseau (1990:17) there are forty named Kenyah groups with a total of about 40,000 speakers, spread throughout four Regencies in Kalimantan (Malinau, Bulungan, Kutai and Berau) and also two districts of Sarawak (Baram and Balui). This estimate should probably be revised downwards because, as we shall see, it is quite common to include groups whose languages are not directly or closely related to Kenyah within the ethnonym Kenyah. They live at present along a number of rivers in particular the Kayan, the Kelai, the Mahakam, the Malinau and their tributaries in East Kalimantan and the Baram and Balui in Sarawak.

In this paper I will give an overview of problems faced when studying Kenyah languages, in particular the complex issues regarding language and ethnicity and the terminology related to Kenyah languages. A sketch of the previous classifications will open the way to the explanations of the reasons why historical linguistics is the most objective approach to apply in such an intricate area of research. The definition of the shared innovations that determine the Kayan-Kenyah branch of languages within the Western branch of Austronesian languages is the necessary step for the classification of Kenyah languages seen in a comprehensive way regardless of administrative or geographic borders.

2. Language and Ethnicity

While the speakers belonging to a language community may also share a sense of belonging to the same ethnic community, concepts such as ethnicity, race, tribe, culture unit and so on, are of little help to the linguist when attempting to identify and classify languages and their variants. As pointed out by King (1989: 236), the boundary between ethnic categories may not be that precisely defined. Ethnic identities may not only be transient and subject to change but they are also relative.

The people studied in this research identified themselves as Kenyah and as being different from others, the Kayan for instance. But it would be naïve to think that these

categories are either simple or mutually exclusive. This is because the situation in the area studied is strongly multi-ethnic, multilingual and multicultural. King (1989: 240) calls this phenomenon 'ethnic nesting'. Ethnic identities are neither unchanging nor neatly demarcated. The small communities of people in this area have constantly to define themselves and this is necessarily in relation to others. Separately named ethnic categories used by groups actually often speak the same language. On the other hand, people sharing the same ethnic name and who have a sense of belonging to a single ethnic community, sometimes speak different languages (King 1989: 242).

Ethnic self-identification in Borneo is, according to Wadley (2000: 83) in his description of the Maloh in West Kalimantan, "an onion with multiple layers" depending on who the interlocutor is and how far from home the self-identification occurs. For example, a Lepo' Tau Kenyah person speaking to somebody from some nearby river originating on the Apau Kayan would identify himself by river of origin, whereas, in a group of Kenyah he would resort to an autonym in distinguishing himself from other groups. In particular, he would be likely to refer to the place where the first village was thought to have been built. Further into the interior, an upstream-downstream distinction is important. In the uppermost part of the Kayan or Bahau River in East Kalimantan, they identify themselves on the basis of their community, river of origin and dialect. For example, persons might say they were Lepo' Tau from Usun Apau in today's Sarawak, the place they moved from. Talking to people in a bigger settlements, like Tanjung Selor where many people of different origins live, they define themselves as Kenyah Lepo' Tau, whereas when they are in Samarinda they call themselves Dayak Kenyah. If these people move out of Borneo, these fine distinctions are discarded and so for instance in Jakarta they would likely just use the ethnonym Dayak to refer to themselves.

The use of the ethnonym Dayak itself is not without ambiguities. In the dichotomy Dayak/Malay, well spread in the whole island of Borneo, the diverse and complicated cultural network is divided in a too simplistic way in two neat mutually exclusive cultural units. Popularly, the terms are used to distinguish between the Muslim and the non-Muslim indigenous peoples of the area. This usage arose during the colonial time, persists to the present and has been embraced by Malay and Dayak alike. The term Dayak at one time carried a negative connotation. Nowadays however, this is no longer usually the case. It is seen as suggesting the unity of a community of people who share a similar perspective about life and have the same political interests.

Ethnic switching is very common in Borneo. One well-known example are those people who '*masuk Melayu*', that is became Malay through the adoption of Islam and other features of Malay culture. Yet even this group cannot be seen as constituting a single, monolithic group. An underlying pattern of ethnic and linguistic factors may persist. Groups often labeled as Dayak – like the Selako and the Iban – may, for example, actually speak languages closely related to Malay, that is Malayic, whereas some groups like the Narum in Sarawak, who call themselves Malay, speak a language that is most definitely not Malay or even Malayic. In Sabah there is the well-known case of the Kadazan, now called Kadazan-Dusun, a name meant to cover a large group of different native people. In the 1960s political leaders attempted to forge a political movement around the identity of Kadazan (Lasimbang & Miller 1990:130-131). This kind of thing has also happened elsewhere, for example with the Ngaju in southern Kalimantan (Wadley 2000:86).

3. Kenyah key terminology

In Kalimantan, Kenyah is a part of the Dayak macro-group. Dayak is an exonym which, especially in Indonesia, refers to all the indigenous populations usually living in the interior who are not adherents of Islam. The term Dayak is usually thought of in contrast with the exonym Malay which refers to populations who are adherents of Islam. However, because it is not based on linguistic criteria, the term "Dayak", for the linguist is very imprecise, since it includes some tens of distinct ethnic groups whose origins, languages and customs may be fundamentally different.

In Sarawak (Malaysia), the term "Orang Ulu" rather than the term "Dayak" is used to refer to some of the non-Muslim people of the interior. For a linguist, this is also far too imprecise and obscures the real complexity of these ethnic groups from the linguistic perspective to the wider cultural point of view and geographic distribution. The "Orang Ulu" include such diverse groups in Sarawak as Kayan, Kenyah, Penan, Kajang, Kelabit (or Apo Duat) and Bisaya. Metcalf (2001:54) stated that the term could not be said to specify a "tribe", a community in the sense of longhouse community, or even constitute an "organic culture". In fact, as an ethnic label Orang Ulu is a neologism in that it is a cover term for grouping smaller ethnic entities which would not be otherwise represented and recognized. Terms such as this are in found in popular use all over the Malay Archipelago. Its use began to spread in the 1970s. At that time, it was still common for people to describe themselves using different autonyms sometimes overlapping with other communities. The term was extended to include the Kelabit, originating in the valleys that apparently did not fit into the schema because it included non-riverine people. Nevertheless they lived in longhouses and seemed to share some other cultural traits. The term subsequently came to signify anybody who did not belong to one of the major groupings in Northern Sarawak, anyone who was not Muslim, Chinese or Iban. Metcalf (2001:57) referred to it as a "strange ethnic group". But the term did not cross the national border and it was never used in Kalimantan where many Kayan, Kenyah and Kelabit also live.

Until quite recently, the Kenyah preferred to name themselves around ethnonyms which were based on toponyms. In particular, they used the terms Uma' which means house and Lepo', meaning village, in these names. When the Kenyah population started to migrate from their purported place of origin, they did so in groups sharing the same longhouse. From this we have names such as Uma' Lasan, that is the group originated from the longhouse identified by a *lasan* 'yard', or Lebu' Kulit, that is the group defined by *kulit* 'skin, bark' the village whose houses were made of bark. In both of these cases, we can see a strong link between ethnicity and locality.

However, an understanding of how these two terms are used is not in itself adequate to linguistically describe the whole picture. The situation is far more complex. Not all the people in this area refer to themselves with ethnonyms based on the terms Lepo' or Uma'. Examples are the Badeng, the Hueng Bau, the Pua', the Murik, the Nyibun, the Cebop and all the Penan and Punan. This is the case even though nearly all these diverse people lived in longhouses. The Murik, the Hueng Bau, the Pua' and maybe the Nyibun have links to the Ngorek culture (Sellato, 1995b), meaning that their history is different from the other Kayan and Kenyah groups. On the other hand, the Badeng whose language is definitely closely related to some of the other Kenyah groups, do not use Uma' or Lepo' in their endonym. All the Penan and Punan groups, like also the Cebop, the Kiput

and the Berawan in Sarawak, are for the most part considered as being speakers of the Kenyah languages, though they never use the terms Uma' or Lepo' as part of their endonymic systems. Meanwhile, the Kayan who are considered by local groups as not Kenyah, or at least belonging to a different branch, extensively use the label Uma' for their groups and languages. In contrast to Kroeger (1998:154)'s suggestion that ethnonyms beginning with Uma' should be applied to Kayan whereas the ones with Lepo' to Kenyah, the facts about Borneo tradition of endonymy are far more complex. However, many of the Kenyah variants spoken in Kalimantan use the label Uma' as part of their endonym, like Uma' Lasan, Uma' Alim, Òma Lóngh therefore it is a mistake to think that Uma' and Lepo' mark ethnicity.

The terms Uma' or Lepo' refer to settlement patterns and migration habits that are not exclusive to the Kenyah people. It can be seen from all this that the two terms are inadequate and unreliable tools for classification. I prefer to consider the endonyms used by single unit groups as provisional labels regardless of the fact that in the end they are classified as Kenyah, Kayan or Punan.

According to other sources like Rousseau (1990) and Whittier (1973), Kenyah is the name given to one of many ethnic groups constituting the great ethnic and cultural diversity of Borneo. The ethnonym 'Kenyah' refers to diverse groups that do not necessarily have a common origin other than belonging to a stratified social system and whose subsistence economy is based on rice swidden cultivation. As Rousseau (1990:67) states: "the Kenyah cannot be defined by a single criterion. The categories are coterminous with the sum of their parts and can be defined only by listing all their components". Moreover, not all the Kenyah variants are mutually intelligible and this explains the high level of bilingualism and multilingualism. This group shows a common feature in Kalimantan where ethnic and cultural diversity is commonplace. The ethnic groups are mainly defined on the basis of linguistic differences. Although several groups may share cultural similarities for example in clothing, dance traditions or home construction methods, nonetheless a characteristic of their language and oral history tradition often reveals significant differences. Clearly language is the most important cultural element that defines a collection of individuals as an ethnic group, and distinguishes them from other groups.

4. Previous classifications

The history of studies of Kenyah languages is relatively recent though references to Kenyah languages are found in almost all the literature about the classification of the languages of Borneo. However, these references do not provide information from which reliable conclusions about the classification of these languages can be derived¹. Synchronic descriptions which include wordlists and texts written in various Kenyah variants date back to the mid 19th century. The first classificatory studies of the Kenyah languages are those of Douglas (1911) and Ray (1913). They did not produce linguistic trees showing the relationship of the languages examined, but rather proposed groupings based on impressionistic analyses. Nonetheless, their work paved the way for historical linguists to approach the problem with proper rigour.

¹ Blust (1974:1) correctly observed that "the history of linguistic classification in Borneo is a record of assertion unaccompanied by evidence and that sub-groupings have been advanced, repeated and disputed without any reference to any linguistic fact".

Dyen (1965:43), on the basis of a lexicostatistical analysis, found that Kenyah and Kayan belong to the same group which he named Kayic, a branch of the Kalabitic cluster. The analysis showed a similarity of 43% between Kayan and Kenyah. Unfortunately his analysis only related on lists about the Kenyah in Upper Sarawak compiled by Douglas (1911) and unfortunately no reference to the languages in Kalimantan was made.

Metcalf (1974:31) who had undertaken fieldwork in Sarawak along the Lower Baram, distinguished two groups of related languages that he called Kenyah. He proposed a classification of 'Kenyah' languages spoken in Sarawak in the Lepo' Pu'un (original) Kenyah and Lepo' Buau (migrant) Kenyah admitting, however, that the linguistic groupings he made were based only on the opinion of local informants.

Blust's (1974) research undertaken in order to test his Proto-North Sarawak vowel deletion hypothesis, involved a number of Kenyah languages, though his study too was limited to the variants spoken in Sarawak. According to his North Sarawak subgrouping theory, based on data from 56 speech communities in Sarawak, Kenyah is one branch of this subgroup and is important as a starting point for the classification of languages in Sarawak. Nevertheless a classification of Bornean languages cannot neglect the variants spoken in Kalimantan and cannot exclude the Kayan languages.

Kroeger (1998), following Blust, postulated a Kenyah family as a subgroup of the Proto-North Sarawak language. All languages in this group were assumed to be descended from a common ancestor in which a rule of Vowel Deletion applied in certain very restricted environments.

Hudson (1978) pointed out how few comparative studies or descriptive grammars there were on the languages of Borneo. Using data which are mainly based on Ray's (1913) lists, he compared the Proto-Austronesian (PAN) forms to the Bornean languages. Using this approach he was able to divide the languages of Borneo in two main groups: the Exo-Bornean, including three groups, and the Endo-Bornean comprising seven groups. The Kayan-Kenyah subgroup belongs to the Endo-Bornean group. He concluded that the Kayan and Kenyah languages seemed to be closely related, though Kenyah had a greater level of differentiation in its variants than Kayan². What he called Kayanic and Kenyahic isolects exhibited enough similarities both lexical and phonological to be grouped together, despite Blust's suggestion that Kayan did not display the innovations considered by Blust diagnostic for membership in the Proto-North-Sarawak group³.

Sellato (1995a), following Hudson (1978), proposed a rough preliminary assessment of the isolects in Long Pujungan district in East Kalimantan. Using a limited set of specific reflexes as markers for classification, as Hudson (1978) suggested, he concluded that Uma' Lung, Uma' Lasan, Uma' Alim, Lepo' Ndang, Bakung, Lepo' Maut, Lepo' Ke and Badeng belong unambiguously to Hudson's Kenyahic, that Nyibun appeared

² From the reflexes of five PAN proto-phonemes *j, *D, *d, *Z, *z Hudson concluded that Kayan and Kenyah were internally related and must be considered a subgroup from which two branches split.

³ Hudson (1978), considering Blust's work, argued that while what he called "Blust's phenomena" could be considered a diagnostic device for formulating a subgrouping, nevertheless also appeared sporadically in other language groups. Therefore Hudson proposed postponing the acceptance of Blust's hypothesis until the appearance of a fuller and more systematic treatment of the subject by Blust himself.

to be a combination of two Kenyahic subgroups and that Pua' a combination of two Kayanic ones.

Soriente (1995) conducted language mapping of the Pujungan district mainly inhabited by Kenyah people. This involved a description and dialectometric analysis of the twelve variants found in the area. From a statistical analysis, it was clear that the nine Kenyah variants could be divided into two groups: the one comprising Lepo' Ma'ut, Lepo' Ndag, Lepo' Ke', Bakung, Badeng and Nyibun that shared a certain number of lexical and phonological features, and the other comprising Uma' Alim, Uma' Lasan, Òma Lóngh which displayed similar phonetic features. Pua' stood somewhat isolated being at an intermediate level between Kayan and Kenyah. The other two languages spoken in the District, Saben and Punan Benalui were definitely assigned to different language groups.

Finally, a number of classifications have been proposed in the various language atlases. All the linguistic variants surveyed belong to the western branch of the Malayo-Polynesian linguistic family, in particular to Wurm & Hattori's (1984) "Kayan-Kenyah" group. Within this group, Wurm and Hattori separated the Kayan subgroup from the Kenyah one. The Kenyah subgroup was divided into several Kenyah sections following the name of the main river where their speakers are located. In this classification, some of the "sections" were categorized as isolates, that is: Bakung, Sebob and Tutoh Kenyah. However, the atlas cannot be considered fully reliable. Wurm and Hattori did not make explicit the reasons for drawing these conclusions. It appears, however, that they drew their conclusions on the basis of ethnic group names or toponyms without confirming whether the group names also represented differences in dialect or language. For these migrating populations, contemporary geographical distribution has no predictive correlation with language groupings. The resulting groups and subgroups or "sections" of their classification consequently can be thought of as quite arbitrary⁴.

Moseley and Asher (1994), appear to have relied heavily on the data offered by Wurm and Hattori, simply with the addition or deletion of some names. They revealed that the classifications proposed had not been based on historical and comparative linguistic observations. Rather, the names in this work had been taken largely from the existing literature. Moseley and Asher presented the following picture: the Kayan-Kenyah group has two subgroups, Kayan and Kenyah. The Kenyah subgroup consists of the Main Kenyah Section (with Western Kenyah, Upper Baram Kenyah, Bahau River Kenyah, Mahakam Kenyah, Kelinyau Kenyah), and a group of four isolates, the Bakung Kenyah Section, the Sebob Kenyah Section, the Tutoh Kenyah Section and the Punan Tubu Section. The classification did not distinguish geographic distribution from dialects. For example, we find that the label Western Kenyah also includes dialects of the Upper Baram Kenyah or Kelinyau Kenyah. In addition, there is no clear reason to classify Bakung as a section by itself or as an isolate.

⁴ For example, the treatment of what is called Uma Tau in Wurm and Hattori is quite misleading. Uma Tau is shown as part of Kelinyau Kenyah and different from Long Nawang (included in Lower Kayan Kenyah). However, Uma Tau should actually be called Lepo' Tau and shown as the same dialect as Long Nawang. Another example is the inclusion on the map of the languages Long Bia or Long Kelawit. A visit to the areas where they are purportedly spoken reveals that locals have no knowledge of these variants. Lastly, there is the treatment of Bakung. There is no evidence to consider it a member of a subgroup including Boh Bakung, Punan Oho' and Oga Bakung as Wurm and Hattori have done.

Another publication produced by Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL International 2001), 'Languages of Indonesia', and the following Ethnologue 15th edition (Gordon 2005) consists of exactly the same lists and maps found in Wurm and Hattori (1984). Assuming that if there had been any new data from the field it would have been used by SIL, this is a good indication that in the nearly twenty years since the publication of Wurm and Hattori's Atlas no extensive study has been undertaken on the Kenyah languages. The SIL publication (2001: 22) and Ethnologue (Gordon 2005) respectively listed seven and six Kenyah branches that do not correspond to any linguistic criteria. Here, as in Wurm and Hattori (1984), toponyms and ethnonyms were used as language names. For example, SIL's and Ethnologue (Gordon 2005) book's reference to Bahau River Kenyah is misleading as it obscures the quite complex picture actually found there. It can not be used as a linguistic classification of the Kenyah variants spoken along the Bahau River in East Kalimantan. Firstly, a number of sometimes quite different variants are used along the Bahau. Some of the variants spoken here are also found spread along the Kayan, the Mahakam and the Baram River in Sarawak. The list in the SIL publication turns out to be neither geographically nor linguistically accurate as none of the branches mentioned is correct. Ethnologue (Gordon 2005) lists Kenyah as one of the branches of the North Sarawakan subgroup comprising twelve languages including the same as in the SIL (2001) publication and other non Kenyah languages like Punan Tubu' and Sebob. The maps are also unreliable for similar reasons. For example, the map of East Kalimantan in the SIL (2001) publication again confuses place names and languages.

We can conclude that without properly conducted field work involving the languages spoken both in Kalimantan and Sarawak, it would not be possible to paint a more accurate picture of the Kenyah languages than those achieved by existing scholars using secondary literature as their main source of evidence.

5. Historical linguistics and a genetic classification of the Kenyah languages

By applying the methods of historical linguistics it was possible to provide a classification of Kenyah languages within the Kayan-Kenyah subgroup showing the genetic relationships among the compared variants (Soriente 2004). The major criterion for classification was identifying shared innovations.

The relationships among Kayan, Kenyah and Penan variants could only be proven if a holistic approach based on objective observation was applied to the intricate picture of languages and ethnic groups in this part of Borneo Island. The key was the application of the Historical Linguistics methods to Borneo regardless of the ethnic classifications and geographic borders.

In the context of research in Borneo, in general, and about Kenyah variants, in particular, this was not easy. This is because firstly the variants being compared are often more or less related to each other and secondly there is a great deal of contact among groups as a result of movement and migrations along the same main rivers. Although the most obvious correspondences between languages are in the lexicon, delineating correspondences of phonological forms was considered necessary for the determination of relationships because lexical cognates may be the result not of a common origin, but of borrowing. Without neglecting previous research and subgroupings involving many languages like the North Sarawak one proposed by Blust (1974, 1998) it was felt necessary to focus on Kenyah, Kayan and Penan variants spoken in Kalimantan and Sarawak to account for the lower level of subgrouping. If from one side the idea of a higher subgroup

including languages distantly related as proposed by Blust (1974, 1998) was considered attractive, the fact that it did not accommodate the many Kenyah variants spoken in Kalimantan and excluded the Kayan languages as considered having different origins (see Blust 2002), was considered dissatisfying. For this reason the research took place in several Kenyah villages as well as a few Kayan villages whose language could not be easily classifiable at the beginning of the research. Thirty-five speech communities were examined during the fieldwork: all these were spread along the Mahakam, Kayan rivers and their tributaries in East Kalimantan and along the Baram River in Sarawak. The assembled data were compared to Proto-Austronesian forms in order to see the shared innovations that defined subgroups. Without explaining in detail the linguistic changes that occurred in each of these clusters, here I note that the study (Soriente 2004) proposed a classification of the Kenyah languages within the Kayan-Kenyah subgroup. Despite the fact that many of the shared innovations used may appear in other languages in Borneo, this work demonstrated the importance of the fieldwork undertaken by the linguist and the necessity of focusing only on linguistic facts when trying to propose a classification.

5.1 The Kayan-Kenyah subgroup

A series of innovations shared by the languages under investigation are displayed here in order to postulate a subgrouping that includes all the variants studied. Drawing in the names of the most prominent languages in this subgroup, the branch was named Kayan-Kenyah. In particular, the elements that allowed me to group together Kayan and Kenyah were the twelve shared innovations listed in Figure 1.

1.	*zZ>j/#/_
2.	*R > x > h
3.	*q > Ø, /
4.	*l > n_V[+hi]
5.	*S > Ø
6.	*s > Ø/_#
7.	*a > '/(C)_CVCVCC
8.	*' > Ø/#_
9.	Devoicing of final stops
10.	Reduction of PAN reduplicated roots
11.	Deletion of nasals in NC clusters
12.	Lowering of PAN high vowels *i and *u in penultimate syllable.

Figure 1: *Shared phonological innovations in Kayan-Kenyah*

Individually, these phonological innovations do not seem to represent clear-cut changes, as most of them happen frequently in other Bornean languages and in general in other Austronesian languages. However, despite the fact that many of the individual innovations noted here may occur in other languages of Borneo or elsewhere, what is critical for the subgrouping argument is the constellation of these innovations, the totality of the changes occurring in the languages under investigation, the ordering of these changes and the uniqueness in the East Borneo area.

Moreover, a number of morphological similarities seem to link the languages of this Kayan-Kenyah subgroup. Morphology is based on a quite simple affixation system

mainly based on a limited number of prefixes that include: ME- (for stative verbs), N- (for active verbs - transitive but sometimes intransitive); PE- (with causative, nominalizer, reciprocal and in few cases intransitive function), KE- (for future or willingness), TE- (for unintentional passive). The retention of infixes in a small number of lexemes is noteworthy, for example: *kuman* (-um-) 'eat' from PAN *kaen, or *l'midik* (-em-) 'cut branches'. Similarly, all variants studied display the same use of vocative forms ending in -y, for example *amay* 'father', *inay* 'mother', *puy* 'grandparent'.

Moreover, the parts of speech in all these variants display the same division of the pronouns into three classes: free morphemes, bound morphemes and the clitics with a distinction between alienable and inalienable possession. In all the variants investigated, there were detected the use of dual forms for the personal pronouns and three types of deictics: this, that, and that-distant.

In the numeral systems, all variants display the same system of enumerating with lexical innovations for 7, 8 and 9 and a similar way of forming the numbers from ten to eleven, as well as the same set of classifiers.

Earlier descriptions of Kayan and Kenyah, published by non-linguists, asserted that there was a relationship between the two because of lexical similarities: for instance, the vocabulary of the relationship terms, the use of necronyms and teknonyms and the same or similar names and titles in nearly all the variants. However, while it is true that these and a number of lexical innovations seem to link all these languages, this sort of lexical evidence is simply not convincing for subgrouping which relies chiefly on shared phonological and morphological innovations.

Future and more detailed research may disprove and discount one, some or all of the innovations noted in Figure 1. But, the principle employed here is important: discovering shared phonological and morphological innovations, not collecting lexical and cultural similarities.

Nonetheless, to facilitate future critique and further research, we propose a linguistic tree with three branches that we call Kenyah, Penan and Kayanic, though there are a number of variants reflecting only some features from the three groups; they may represent splits from the main branches at different times. The hypothesis is presented in Figure 2.

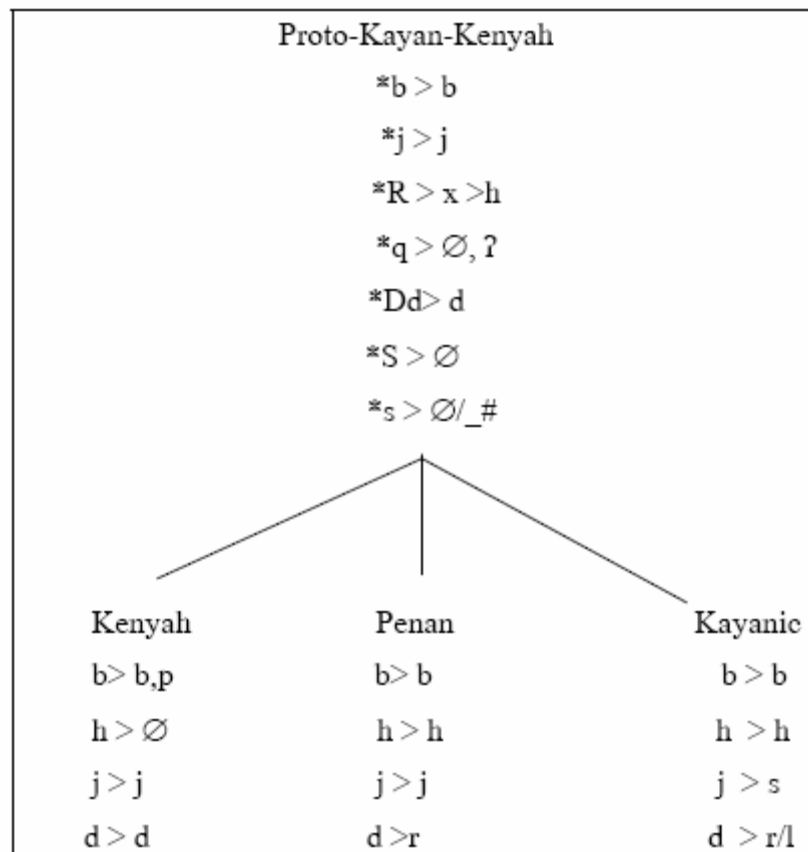


Figure 2: *The hypothesis of a Kayan-Kenyah subgroup*

5.1.1 A classification of Kenyah languages

On the grounds of the arguments sketched out, we can widen the scope of our classification and attempt to draw a linguistic tree containing several of the Kenyah Penan and Kayanic languages, in particular those studied in the research undertaken by Soriente (1995, 2004) as in Figure 3. Based on the set of phonological innovations I was able to postulate a Kayan-Kenyah subgroup and, from this, three subgroups split: Kenyah Penan and Kayanic (Soriente 2004). Some innovations that linked a certain number of variants spoken either in East Kalimantan or in Sarawak defined a subgroup that includes all the Kenyah languages and excludes all those variants that do not display those innovations.

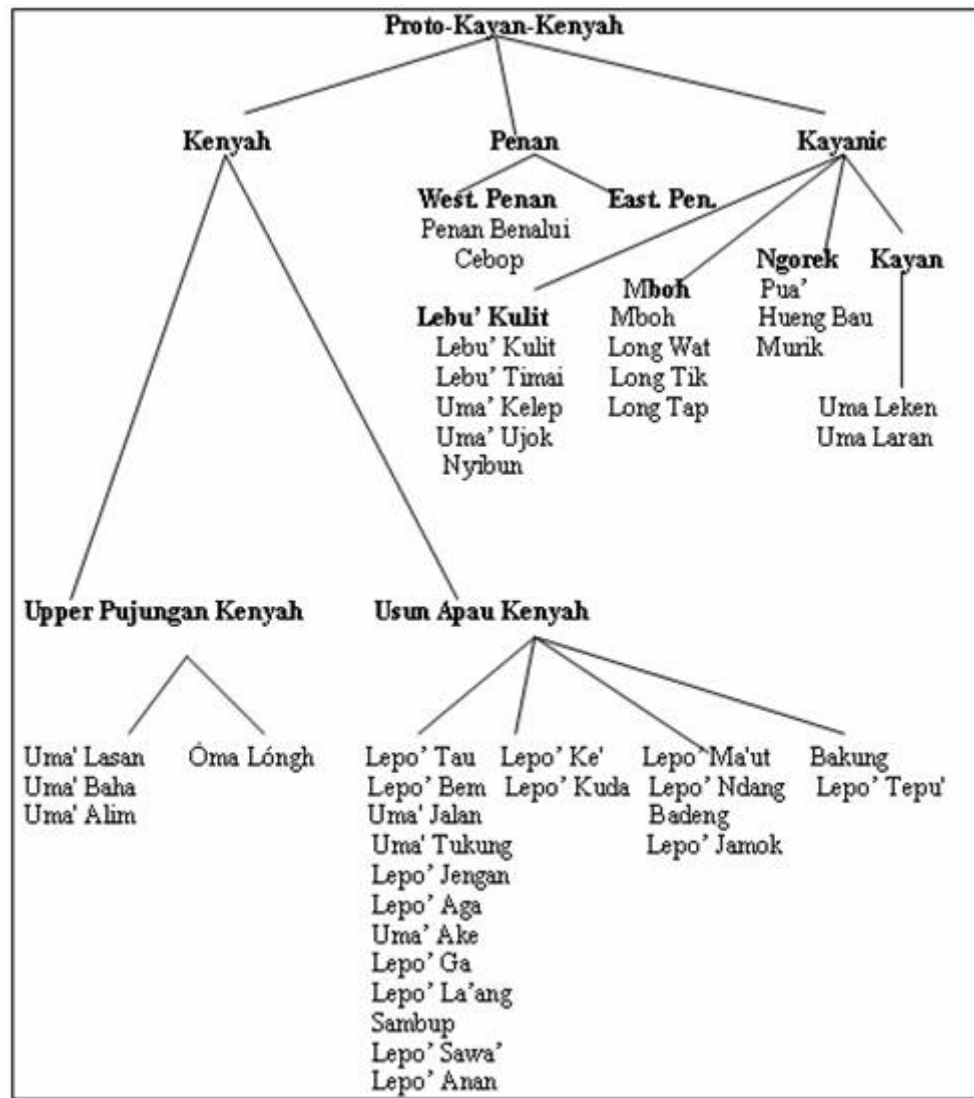


Figure 3: A classification of the Kayan-Kenyah languages

Observing the linguistic tree which is only a visual representation of the relationships of the languages studied, the main finding of this work is the definition of lower level branches of the linguistic tree with the position of the Pujungan branch separating from the Usun Apau one, to which most of the known Kenyah variants belong and the position of Ôma Lóngh that sets apart from the other Kenyah languages because of some distinctive phonological changes (see also Soriente 2006).

In the Kayanic branch it is worth noting the position of Lebu' Kulit that, because of the shared innovations is not directly considered belonging to the Kenyah subgroup, but rather to the Kayanic one. In the Ngorek branch, Pua', Hueng Bau and Nyibun are definitely not Kenyah language regardless of the fact that often their speakers identify themselves as 'Kenyah'. Mboh, representing the group originally defined as *Lepo' Pu'un* 'the original village' does not seem to belong to the Kenyah subgroup but seems to be sharing more Kayanic than Kenyah features. In this way the myth of an 'original' Kenyah as opposed to the 'migrant' one does not seem to hold any more.

Penan Benalui despite the many lexical similarities with some Kenyah variants is considered to belong to the separate Penan branch displaying Kenyah and Kayanic features and characterized by the important morphological -en- infix not shared by Kenyah and Kayanic languages. Nevertheless, it is important to note that no classification of Kenyah languages can overlook the very complex problem of Penan/Punan languages. The classifications so far provided about Kenyah always list Penan/Punan languages as members of Kenyah subgroup though no overall linguistic research within this controversial group has ever been undertaken nor a scientific explanation about the existence of the terminological doublet Penan/Punan has ever been provided⁵. Cebop traditionally classified within the Kenyah language family is much closer to Penan Benalui than to any other language so far studied.

The most controversial section of this classification is the Lebu' Kulit branch that is considered to be a split from the Kayanic subgroup and not from the Kenyah one as traditionally thought according to local epistemology and ethnic labeling. In order to anticipate reservations that might arise from this classification, it is important to note that this branch is still under investigation. Considering that the innovations shared with the Kayanic languages might still be motivated by contact with other Kayan languages, instead of a solid line, a dotted line might be used to link it to the putative mother tongue. Being aware of the limitations of a linguistic tree as a metaphor for relationship among the languages because it is not a sufficient model, it is important to note that in general all the similarities due to borrowing and diffusion might be more difficult to detect and yet might be the reason why the languages develop and influence each other. In this way every branch of the Kayan-Kenyah tree might present a much more complete history than displayed by the tree as shown in Figure 3 and the single languages are to be seen as incorporating diffusion and layering process and other language contact phenomena.

6. Conclusions

The classification proposed in this paper is primarily intended to review, revise and complete previous classifications that were either based on superficial or merely synchronic analyses or focused on geographic and administrative boundaries and to display a more fine grained classification on the lower branches of the Kenyah language family. The innovations shared by the variants investigated, have made possible the establishment of a subgroup called Kayan-Kenyah from which the Kenyah languages studied are descended. The subgroup is considered to have three main branches, Kenyah, Penan and Kayanic. Despite the great deal of research that remains unfinished, these conclusions that sometimes go against local epistemology and ethnic labeling are the result of the application of the comparative methodology, a methodology considered to be the most objective in dealing with linguistic facts. This work has made clear the necessity of applying a scientific approach to the description of the languages, an approach that has to be rigorous and not arbitrary.

⁵ Scholars involved in research on Punan/Penan groups regret the lack of overall research on the different groups referred to as Punan or Penan either in Sarawak or in East Kalimantan. Kroeger (1998:157) explained that a problem in classifying the Punan/Penan languages is that the same group often seems to be called by different names in different areas, therefore detailed linguistic research should be carried out to cover all the Punan/Penan languages, mapping them and defining their position vis a vis the Kenyah subgroup.

A serious and rigorous study of Bornean languages is required to shed light on the many shadows that still darken and obfuscate this area. It is necessary to pay attention to mere linguistic facts when trying to draw the linguistic history of the languages investigated and yet keep in the mind other facts like the general language ecology, myths, ethnic labeling and local epistemology.

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POST-VERBAL NOUN FOR A PART IN THAI

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1 Introduction

It is often observed that Thai speakers add a noun representing a part of something whole (e.g. body-part noun, plant-part noun) after an intransitive verb that normally does not require an object argument, as exemplified in examples (1) to (4) below. The verb is mostly a stative verb (e.g. *thanàt* ‘be skillful,’ *sa?àat* ‘be clean’) or an unaccusative verb (e.g. *?àak* ‘exit,’ *tòk* ‘fall’) whose single argument is a theme or an undergoer but not an agent.¹ A noun placed in front of the verb, if any, does not represent an agent proper, either. The pre-verbal noun just signals a presupposed entity functioning as a ‘topic’ (Li 1976). A topic provides the circumstances or the reference frame in which a certain state of affairs is found. It is a kind of reference point, with respect to which the following predicate (called ‘comment’) is properly interpreted (Langacker 1993). The topic noun can be suppressed when sufficiently recoverable from the extra-linguistic context. The post-verbal noun, which is our present concern, represents a part entity in general.

- (1) *tôn nǐ ?àak phǎn*
 this tree exit fruit
 This tree bears fruits.
- (2) *kháw thanàt muu khwǎa*
 he skillful right hand
 He is right-handed.
- (3) *kháw tòk cay*
 he fall heart
 He takes fright.
- (4) *man sa?àat taa*
 it clean eye
 It is clean to the eyes.

In example (1), the post-verbal noun represents a fruit, a plant part. The tree is described to undergo an event of bearing fruit. In example (2), the post-verbal noun represents the right hand, a body part. The person is characterized as being skillful with the right hand. In example (3), the post-verbal noun represents the heart, a body part. The heart is thought to be a place in which feelings originate. The person is said to undergo a sudden ‘fall of the heart,’ which idiomatically means astonishment. In example (4), the post-verbal noun represents the eyes, body parts. Our eyes contribute to our evaluation of some entity when the evaluation is based on visual perception by the eyes. Here, something is described as being clean, which could be warranted by everyone with visual perception. As known from my English translations, I consider the referent of the post-verbal noun to be a

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intransitive verb. The post-verbal noun represents, in a broad sense, a part or constituent having reference to something whole. A part entity has the low degree of categoriality (Hopper and Thompson 1984) for it is undifferentiated from the whole entity. Thus, the post-verbal nouns are referentially non-salient or non-individuated, and therefore they do not express discourse referents. It is likely that they are semantically incorporated into the predicate. Because of this unity of the verb plus post-verbal noun, we may say that the structure of a clausal comment in these constructions is the pragmatic equivalent of noun incorporation.

However, the Sinitic construction (diagram 9) has more specific semantic constraints imposed on its constituents than the Thai construction (diagram 5). First, the verb in the Sinitic construction (diagram 9) has only an inchoative reading. That is, it always represents the situation as occurring spontaneously. Second, the pre-verbal and post-verbal nouns in the Sinitic construction (diagram 9) denote a possessor and its possessum, respectively, and their relationship must be that of ‘inalienable possession’ such as one held between a body part (or plant part) and its possessor, as in examples (6) and (7), or kinship, as in example (8). The affected experiencer role of the possessor comes from this relationship. The rationale is that a change of the state of an entity inalienably possessed must result in some influence on its possessor. Semantic conditions on the Thai construction (diagram 5), on the other hand, are not so strict. The verb represents either a state or a change of state/location, and the referents of the two nouns do not have the relation of inalienable possession. Crucially, the referent of the post-verbal noun is not a particular entity possessed by someone.

Iwasaki (2002) analyzed a specific type of the Thai construction (diagram 5), namely, those including a body part as undergoer of physical sensation or emotion, like example (3) above (i.e. *kháw tòk cay* ‘he + fall + heart: He takes fright’). He named those expressions ‘proprioceptive-state expressions.’ The diagram (10) below represents the structure of the expression.



The Thai proprioceptive-state construction (diagram 10) is similar to the Sinitic double unaccusative construction (diagram 9), but the post-verbal noun in the Thai proprioceptive-state construction (diagram 10) represents a body part only.

Likewise, Clark (1996) examined exclusively a stative-verb construction with a pre-verbal noun representing an animate entity and a post-verbal noun representing its body part, which is attested in Mainland Southeast Asian languages. According to Clark, this construction, just like proprioceptive-state expressions, expresses that an animate entity has the condition described by the verb located in that body part of the animate entity. For example:

- (11) *kháw cèp taa*
 he sore eye
 He has sore eyes.

What I think is important is Clark's remark that a body part named by the post-verbal noun may have merely an indirect attributive reference to an entity represented by the pre-verbal noun, as illustrated in example (4) above and example (12) below.

- (12) *man klay taa*
 it far eye
 It (something external) is out of sight.

Moreover, she pointed out that sometimes non-stative verbs are combined with body part terms to form stative and other predicates, as in example (3) above and example (13) below, or stative verbs are combined with body part terms but form non-stative predicates, as in example (14) below.

- (13) *man sadùt hǔu*
 it trip over ear
 It sounds odd.

- (14) *man màn sây*
 it persevere intestine
 It repels (me).

But unfortunately she did not discuss these types of the intransitive-verb plus body-part-noun construction.

Relying on the theory of Construction Grammar (Fillmore, Kay and O'Connor 1988; Kay and Fillmore 1999), Iwasaki (2002) argues that in Thai grammar the [Vi N (for body part)] order of a clausal comment has a structural meaning of 'proprioceptively registered experience' in contrast to the [N (for body part) Vi] order encoding an external state. For example:

- (15) *kháw dii cay*
 he good heart
 He is happy.

- (16) *kháw cay dii*
 he heart good
 He is kind.

Iwasaki explained that the sentence (15) expresses an internal state, i.e. proprioceptive state, as registered by the experiencer ('He is happy'), while the sentence (16) expresses an externally observable state ('He is kind').

However, it seems to me that the notion of 'proprioceptively registered experience' is too specific for a structural meaning. In this study, therefore, I propose a new perspective which treats proprioceptive-state expressions and so-called 'event-perception' expressions as subclasses of the clausal structure [Vi N (for part)] in Thai. The structure does express a proprioceptively registered experience when the post-verbal noun represents a body part where sensation or emotion comes into existence. But the structure can express other meanings, as illustrated in the following examples.

- (17) *man loŋ râak*
 it descend root
 It takes root.
- (18) *yaay kèe tua*
 grandmother old body
 (My) grandmother is aged.
- (19) *fõn loŋ mét*
 rain descend drop
 It begins to rain.
- (20) *kháw mâak rûaŋ*
 he many affair
 He is difficult to suit.

Note that the post-verbal noun may represent not only a body or plant part, as in example (17), but also the body or looks which is part of personality, as in example (18), a drop of rain which is part of the atmosphere, as in example (19), an affair the person cares about which is part of the state of affairs in daily life, as in example (20), and so on. I argue that what is common among the referents of the post-verbal nouns in these examples is their status in terms of information structure (Lambrecht 1994), namely, they are all non-specific.

In Iwasaki's (2002) view, sensations described by the [Vi N (for body part)] structure must be strong and/or sudden. Therefore, physical sensations associated with some prolonged, slow process such as numbness and dislocation pain is incompatible with this structure. For this reason, the expression (21) below is unacceptable. According to Iwasaki, numbness and dislocation pain can be regarded as an 'externalized' sensation resulting from some prolonged process and therefore is coded by the [N (for body part) Vi] structure instead, as in example (22).

- (21) * *chán chaa khăa*
 I numb leg
 My legs become numbed. (intended meaning)
- (22) *chán khăa chaa*
 I leg numb
 My legs are numbed.

The true reason why the expression (21) is normally out, I am suggesting, is not concerned with such an aspectual consideration. My claim is that there is a fundamental semantic condition on the post-verbal noun in the [Vi N (for part)] structure, namely, the referent of the post-verbal noun must be non-specific. Specifically, it is a part entity in general. The infelicity of the expression (21) comes from our everyday experience that when we, at least most Thai speakers, talk about a numbed leg, the leg is a specific one. Numbness and dislocation pain is not our usual experience, and therefore it is somewhat difficult for us to imagine a general scene of undergoing such a pain.

In fact, the [Vi N (for body part)] structure can express a reflective, prolonged feeling which, however, is not the speaker's feeling in itself but rather an idealized experiencer's feeling. Consider examples (4) and (12) again, which I repeat here as examples (23) and (24).

- (23) *man saʔaat taa*
 it clean eye
 It is clean to the eyes.

- (24) *man klay taa*
 it far eye
 It is out of sight.

The following are additional examples of this type.

- (25) *man nǎa taa*
 it thick eye
 It (the crowd) is thick to the eyes.

- (26) *man sùt lûuk hũu lûuk taa*
 it beyond ear eye
 It is out of hearing and sight.

- (27) *man plèek taa plèek cay*
 it strange eye strange heart
 It is strange-looking and amazing.

- (28) *kháw sabaay ʔòk sabaay cay*
 he comfortable chest comfortable heart
 He is contented.

- (29) *kháw nàk ʔòk nàk cay*
 he heavy chest heavy heart
 He is heavy-hearted.

- (30) *kháw nɔɔy núa tàt cay*
 he little flesh low heart
 He feels hurt.

I argue that the post-verbal nouns in these examples denote general body parts that every human being is assumed to have. They do not denote body parts of a particular person, neither of the speaker nor of the topic person. It follows that these expressions do not designate the speaker's or the topic person's immediate experience. Rather, they express the speaker's characterization with respect to the topic entity by referring to our visual and auditory experience in general. The speaker of the sentence (23), for instance, characterizes the topic entity to be clean which could be guaranteed on the basis of everyone's visual perception.

The post-verbal nouns in examples (2) and (18), which are repeated as examples (31) and (32) below, represent body parts having no organs of visual or auditory sense.

- (31) *kháw thanàt muu khwǎa*
 he skillful right hand
 He is right-handed.

- (32) *yaay kèe tua*
 grandmother old body
 (My) grandmother is aged.

At first glance, it seems that the referents of the pre-verbal and post-verbal nouns in these examples hold a relationship of inalienable possession. That is, we are apt to understand that the post-verbal noun in example (31) refers to the right hand of that person, and that the post-verbal noun in example (32) refers to the body of that grandmother. In my opinion, however, the right hand in example (31) and the body in example (32) are non-specific and general. The person in example (31) and the grandmother in example (32) are characterized as being skillful and being aged, respectively. In example (31), the type of the skillfulness is specified by the added post-verbal noun referring to the right-hand. Generally we human beings are skillful with either one or the other hand. The specification is effective due to this world knowledge. In example (32), the agedness of the grandmother is modified by the added post-verbal noun referring to the body or looks. Generally again, we know that when we become aged the agedness physically manifests itself all over the body as well as mentally influences the way of thinking. The modification is neat by virtue of this world knowledge. It should be noted that adding a post-verbal noun for a part promotes the level of granularity or complexity of the description in question. Now, we can easily understand that the post-verbal noun in example (20), which is repeated as example (33) below, represents non-specific miscellaneous affairs. The person is characterized as being frequently involved in such affairs, to which he is sensitive. We humans are concerned with many concrete things we physically possess as well as many abstract things we mentally care about.

- (33) *kháw mâak rûaŋ*
 he many affair
 He is difficult to suit.

The [Vi N (for part)] structure may express an inchoative event when the included verb is a motion verb, as illustrated in examples (1), (3), (17) and (19) which I repeat here as examples (34) to (37).

- (34) *tôn nǐ ?òk phǎn*
 this tree exit fruit
 This tree bears fruits.

- (35) *kháw tòk cay*
 he fall heart
 He takes fright.

any human being who could experience emotion, sensation, or perception in an ideal way. The topicless structure [Vi N] implies that an idealized experiencer would recognize the described situation in that way.

Iwasaki (2002) cited the sentence (41) as a token of the event-perception construction which is preceded by a topic (*mîit lêm nîi* ‘this knife’). In his analysis, this topic is an adverb added in order to specify the location of an event, which is allowed to be included in the event-perception construction.

- (41) *mîit lêm nîi khûn sanǎm*
 this knife stand rust
 This knife gets rusty.

I regard the expression (41) as an ordinary token of the [Vi N (for part)] structure, since the post-verbal noun represents rust which can be regarded as a part entity of a knife. In the expression (41) where the knife is described as undergoing an event of rust-gathering, parallel to the expression (42)(=(1)) where the tree is described as undergoing an event of fruit-bearing.

- (42) *tôn nîi ?òk phôn*
 this tree exit fruit
 This tree bears fruits.

3 Conclusion

This study has inquired into the function of a post-verbal noun in the [Vi N (for part)] structure in Thai. I have claimed that the post-verbal noun represents a non-specific part entity, and it functions as adverb that indirectly indicates the speaker’s evaluation of the described situation and his multi-dimensional perspective as well. Put differently, the structure expresses a state of affairs with the speaker’s subjective modification.

I tentatively classify characteristic meanings expressed by the structure, as indicated in Table 1 below. When the verb in the structure is a dynamic verb, the structure expresses the result of a certain change, namely, Discovery or Sensation/Emotion. Discovery involves some external stimulus, while Sensation/Emotion involves some internal stimulus. So-called event-perception may be classified into a special type of Discovery. When the verb in the structure is a static verb, on the other hand, the structure expresses the speaker’s characterization with regard to the proposition, namely, Characterization in terms of descriptive granularity or Characterization in terms of an idealized experiencer’s feeling. The former involves some external stimulus, while the later involves some internal stimulus.

Table1: *A tentative classification of characteristic meanings expressed by the [Vi N (for part)] structure in Thai*

	<i>External stimulus</i>	<i>Internal stimulus</i>
<i>Dynamic description</i>	Discovery, e.g. (1)	Sensation/Emotion, e.g. (3)
<i>Static description</i>	Characterization in terms of granularity, e.g. (2)	Characterization in terms of feeling, e.g. (4)

Notes

I would like to thank Robert De Silva for his stylistic suggestions. All errors and inconsistencies are my own.

1. I have found a few examples including an unergative verb followed by a noun representing a part entity. For example:

(i) *dəən* *tháaw*
 walk foot

(ii) *yâaŋ* *tháaw*
 walk foot

I do not regard these verbs as the transitive alternate of an intransitive verb, since the post-verbal noun does not denote a patient.

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HOW A DISCOURSE PEAK IS REVEALED IN KUKRIT'S SHORT STORY, "MOM"

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1. Introduction

The discourse peak is significant because it enables us to understand the overall grammatical patterns of the discourse. Identifying the discourse peak helps to identify prepeak and postpeak sections; this then describes the surface grammar of discourse. Like other languages in the world, Thai discourse also contains a peak. Many different Thai authors use different features to signal peaks in the surface structures in their work. Among contemporary Thai authors, Kukrit is well known for the specific ways of marking peak.

2. Methodology

One of Kukrit's short stories, "Mom", was selected in order to analyze the grammatical features used to mark peak because of its being well-known among many Thai readers. It has been compulsory literature for all high school students in Thailand for decades.

The first step in the analysis of the text was to interlinearize it by using the Toolbox computer program (version 1.0, September 2003). This method glosses each Thai word with its phonetic transcription, English gloss, and grammar tag, followed by an English free translation of each individual sentence. Next, the overall surface structure of the text was analyzed by using the features suggested by Longacre (1996, 1983). Besides Longacre's framework, Somsong's principles (1991) of marking the surface structure slots were adopted as another criterion to help analyze the text. The text had to be charted and divided into various categories of stages and episodes, namely prepeak, peak, and postpeak, on the surface structure level. However, only the Peak slot was specifically analyzed to find the special devices that Kukrit used to signal his Peak.

3. The text in brief

Mom was a male mutt that had been born without his parents' intention. In other words, Mom had been born by accident. However, he was raised with great love and care by his master. Mom was extremely loyal, smart, and obedient to his master. He had been living with the master happily and peacefully for years until World War II occurred. The master was conscripted to serve in the army; therefore, Mom was left to live with the master's wife and daughter. The master ordered Mom to take care of them while he was away.

The master's departure caused a terrible change in the family. Without the master, the family's living situation was harder than before. The mistress, her daughter, and Mom had to struggle against poverty and starvation. However, they were determined to survive in order to wait for their beloved man's return. The war was approaching and threatening the family. And, as a result of the war, the mistress and the master's daughter were killed and buried by a powerful bomb. Mom was very depressed because he could not help them at all.

Mom still waited for the master's return although there was no one left beside him. In order to survive, Mom had to wander around hunting for leftovers, even in rubbish bins.

Mom wandered from place to place hopelessly and aimlessly until, one day, he woke up and found himself lying in front of a very big building. A girl living in the building felt pity on Mom, so she then raised him as her pet dog. Mom was given good food and love by the girl, but he still missed and waited for his former master. What motivated Mom to go on living was the hope of seeing the master and living with him again.

One night, when left to guard the house during the girl's vacation, Mom heard a thief breaking into the building. Mom then found that his hope was fulfilled, since the thief turned out to be his former master, whom Mom had been looking forward to seeing again for ages. Mom was so delighted that he willingly chose to leave the wealthy girl to live with his master, who had become ragged and poor, without being afraid of the suffering he might experience on the road ahead.

4. Literature review

Peak is defined by Longacre (1996:38) as “a zone of turbulence in regard to the flow of the discourse in its preceding and following parts.” Peak cannot be marked by a single device. Instead, it is made outstanding by various devices. Like Longacre, Larson (1984:405) emphasizes that surface structure devices used to mark Peak are “many and varied.” This makes Peak peculiar and unique. It is normally signified by a shift in the proportion of use of a particular grammatical device. In other words, Peak is marked grammatically. Routine surface features, for example, are distorted or phased out at Peak. Longacre (1985:85) indicates that, at Peak, “something new has been added to and something taken away.” However, there are various ways to mark Peak, not just minus features and distortion. According to Longacre (1996:39-47), there are six kinds of peak marking devices, as described below.

4.1 Rhetorical underlining

Rhetorical underlining makes use of extra words in order to make the Peak more noticeable, may be used at Peak by a narrator to make sure that his/her readers do not miss the important point of the story. Consequently, the events at Peak are reported in greater detail. This device is also mentioned as a “slow-the-camera-down” technique by Longacre (1985:86). It is one of the simplest and most common devices used for marking Peak, not only of a narrative but also of other discourse genres.

In addition, according to Honulin (1983:5), it can be said that rhetorical underlining, or redundancy, is employed in order to: 1) slow the information rate, 2) clarify information, 3) amplify information, 4) give cohesion to a text, 5) group or organize information, 6) keep the theme or topic in view, 7) highlight information, and 8) give emphasis. Rhetorical underlining can be expressed by means of several devices, but Longacre (1996:39) mentions three: parallelism, paraphrase, and tautology. Parallelism is a way of stating things that are very similar in meaning. As Callow (1974:23) states, parallelism is “related statements in the same semantic domain.” Larson (1984:415) defines paraphrase as follows: “A paraphrase is a restating of the same information in another way, sometimes with the addition of some bits of information.” The same thing is mentioned repeatedly, with or without slight changes of wording. According to Leaders (2002:10), tautology is defined as abundant repetition of words or close synonyms.

4.2 Concentration of participants

This device is also called a “crowded stage.” It is commonly used in narrative and drama. That all or most of the participants, both important and trivial, in a story are present at Peak at once marks the concentration of participants. At Peak, either the participants already introduced are brought back to the scene or new participants are introduced (Longacre 1996:40).

4.3 Heightened vividness

The heightened vividness in a narrative can be marked by any one of several “shifts,” as described below.

A shift in nominal-verbal balance. At Peak, there may be a change in the ratio of verbs to nouns. According to Jirel’s study (1999:68-69), for example, the Peaks in Jirel folk narratives are marked by a shift in verb density. At the Peaks, there are more verbs relative to nouns. The verb density reaches its maximum here.

A shift in surface structure tense. At Peak, a shift in surface structure tense may occur. For example, in a language in which tense plays an important role in determining the time of any action, far past tense that has been employed since the beginning of the narrative may change to recent past tense at Peak (Longacre 1996:40).

A shift in person and/or number. At Peak, there may be a shift in person orientation. Longacre (1996:41) emphasizes that “person shifts correlate in some texts with the onset of Peak.” For example, a shift in numbers of people may occur, from plural to singular.

A shift along the narrative-drama parameter. At Peak, there may be a shift from narrative to pseudo-dialogue, which is not a true dialogue but rather reported speech or rhetorical questions, to dialogue, which is a conversation between participants in the narrative, to drama, in which participants speak out to each other in first and second personal pronouns. This is a shift from left to right along the parameter as illustrated below. Conversely, a shift from right to left may also occur at peak (Longacre, 1996:42-43).



4.4 Change of pace

The change of pace refers to variation in the relative speed of actions in a narrative. As stated by Longacre (1996:43), “The pace can be altered by means of the variation in the size of constructions, i.e. the unusual length of syntactic structures which can move the story forward either rapidly or slowly, and variation in the number of conjunctions.” At the Peak of the story in some languages, for example, the number of conjunctions decreases so that the action verbs are intensified. This reflects fast-moving action at Peak. In other languages, by contrast, the Peak can be marked by extra long sentences.

4.5 Change of vantage point and/or orientation

This can be achieved by any one of the “shifts” as described below.

A shift in narrator. Longacre (1996:46) states that a change of vantage point, by which he means the eyes through which the reader views the story, “most naturally occurs somewhere near the peak of the story and consequently helps mark this peak in the surface

structure.” For example, a third person narrator may suddenly switch to first person at Peak.

A shift in usual sentence topic. This is a change corresponding to role reversal, for example, from being a hunter to becoming the prey (Longacre 1996:47).

4.6 Incidence of particles and onomatopoeia

Larson (1984:411) indicates that “Special particles, or words, are another device for marking prominence,” or the Peak, of a narrative discourse. In non-peak episodes, particles and onomatopoeia may appear only sparingly. At Peak, however, the use of these items may increase. New particles and onomatopoeia may be introduced at Peak as well. Usual particles may either disappear or be used more frequently.

5. Peak marking devices identified from the text

Peak is defined by Longacre (1996:38) as “a zone of turbulence in regard to the general flow of a discourse.” Even though it is often the case that peak is basically marked by “something new (that) has been added to and something taken away” (Longacre 1985:85), there are a number of other surface structure disruptions that are appropriate to the “zone of turbulence.” From the text analyzed, it can be deduced that there are three major peak marking devices and a supplementary peak marking device that Kukrit chooses from his bag of tricks in order to signal the Peak slots as listed in the following.

5.1 Rhetorical underlining

Kukrit does not want his readers to miss the important point of the text so he employs rhetorical underlining by means of parallelism (saying different things in similar patterns of grammar), paraphrase (saying one thing in different ways), and tautology (abundant repetition of words or close synonyms) in the Peak slots. In regard to parallelism, the author intentionally employs it in order to express Mom’s worst condition, both physically and mentally, to the readers. There are also a number of repetitions and paraphrases identified in the Peak slots in order to slow the events by giving more detailed descriptions. Rhetorical underlining is not found elsewhere in the text. It is initially employed at the Peak slots. Therefore, it can be said that the rhetorical underlining device employed at the Peak slots functions to add vividness to the events and, as a result, to make the Peak feature more noticeable and outstanding.

5.2 The existence of an unusual element, head-head linkage

According to Streett (2001:34), “at peak, anything that can change may change.” Usual rules do not work here. In other words, routine features may undergo distortion, and unusual elements may be introduced. This is also the case in the Peak slots of the text because there is the existence of an unusual element, head-head linkage, which has never been employed in either the Prepeak Episodes or the Postpeak Episodes. Therefore, the use of head-head linkage in the midst of the other types of back-reference shows that the author employs it on purpose. The employment of head-head linkage gives this surface structure feature extra prominence, which is appropriate for the Peak of the text. Unlike the other slots, the Peak slots contain a new type of linkage, head-head linkage. This type of linkage occurs when the first sentence of one paragraph cross-references to the first sentence of the following paragraph (Longacre 1983:9).

5.3 The existence of the longest monologue

In fact, there are a number of short monologues spoken by various participants scattered throughout the text. However, at the Peak, there is the existence of the longest monologue spoken by the master. This monologue is considered the longest one because it contains ten sentences. It is the monologue that the master spoke to Mom after he had felt ashamed of what he had planned to do, i.e. breaking into Taew's house. The master's depressing life is the subject of this monologue. In addition, by means of expressing his thoughts via this monologue, the master tried to convince Mom that he had decided to break into someone's house because he did not have any other way out. In order to survive, it was necessary that he commit his first burglary.

5.4 Change of pace

According to Longacre (1996:43-45), variation in the size of constructions can mark the peak of a text. This is also the case in regard to the Peak slots of the analyzed text. However, change of pace is regarded as a supplementary peak marking device due to the fact that the sentence boundaries in Thai are hard to be determined, i.e., they are rather fuzzy. There has been considerable difficulty in identifying the exact boundary of the Thai sentences, but basically, at the Peak slots, change of pace is considered practical to be counted as one of the peak marking devices.

The overall average sentence length of every slot is shown in Figure 1, on the following page, in order to emphasize that, at the Peak slots, the author chooses shorter average sentence length from his bag of tricks as one of the devices to mark the Peaks.

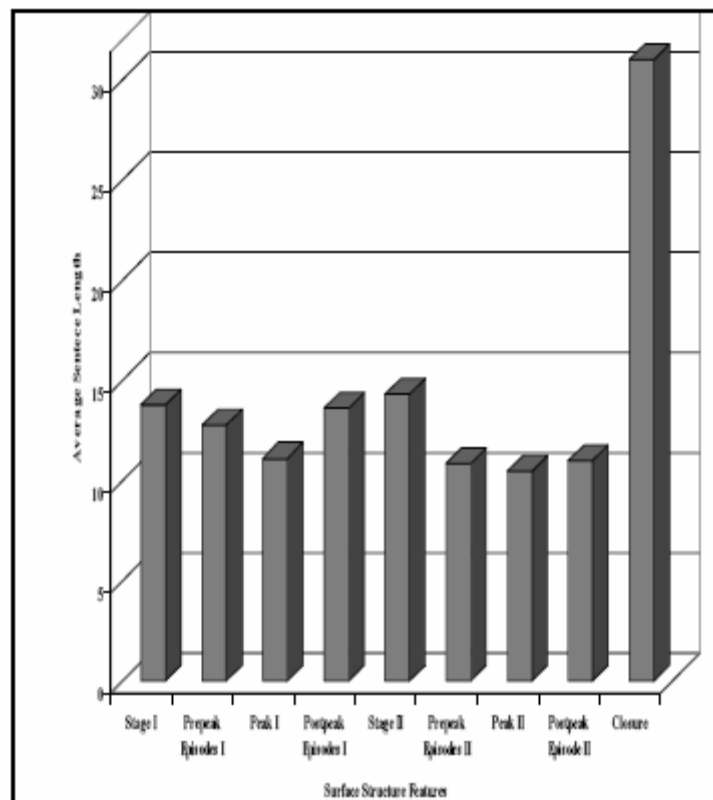


Figure 1: Overall Average Sentence Length Corresponding to Surface Structure Features of “Mom”

6. Conclusion and suggestion for further research

This study supports the theory applied in the study. The features that mark surface structure peak in Kukrit's "Mom" are similar to those Longacre (1996, 1983) calls "a bag of tricks."

The findings of this analysis of the Peak marking devices of the text "Mom" are just the beginning. Even though all of the possible topics of study within discourse analysis could not be conducted in this study, the discourse analysis of the Peak marking devices of Kukrit's short story "Mom" conducted here does present some components of a Thai discourse narrative which are universal to those of other narratives in other languages. However, future research on other discourse features of "Mom" would be very helpful in that the results of such future research would broaden the linguistic knowledge of Thai and thus help solve other linguistic problems. In addition, a lot of work with more Thai narratives of various length and other kinds of Thai discourse genres would be desirable so that more notable features of Thai discourse which are not present in this study could be examined.

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VOWEL GRADATION AND SEMANTIC IMPLICATION IN THE ISAN DIALECT OF THAI

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1. Introduction

The Isan dialect or the northeastern dialect of Thai has a distinct group of intensifying couplets which are acquired from childhood and used naturally among local people from all walks of life. These intensifying couplets are used to strengthen the meaning of words or utterances in normal discourse, and neither element of the couplet ever occurs alone. For example, if one wants to use an expression to refer to “a tiny hole”, e.g. the small eye of a needle, the couplet [**cíŋ pí:ŋ**] is used as an intensifier after that particular expression. Likewise, words indicating “an untidy hump of clothes” will be intensified by [**céŋpé:ŋ**], and to intensify some other words meaning “an open space”, the couplet [**cáŋpá:ŋ**] is used. It can be seen that the gradual opening of the unrounded front vowels, or the rounded back vowels, in case of [**cóŋpó:ŋ**] and [**cóŋpó:ŋ**], signifies degrees of size, the examples of which are shown below and on page 3, i.e. group 5.

the very small eye of a needle (tiny hole)(followed by)		[cíŋ pí:ŋ]
an untidy hump of clothes	”	[céŋpé:ŋ]
a hole in a shirt (medium hole)	”	[cóŋpó:ŋ]
a roundish hole in a hedge (large hole)	”	[cóŋpó:ŋ]
an open space or brightness	”	[cáŋpá:ŋ]
(The couplets are shown in IPA bold type.)		

From these intensifying couplets, there appears an interesting phonological phenomenon called vowel gradation where a change of vowel height signifies different degrees of semantic implication.

The data for this study consist of seven groups of intensifying couplets collected by the writer herself. The original set of data came from a middle-aged female native of Ubolratchatani province in Isan. The data were then double checked by female and male natives of Isan of different age groups, namely young undergraduate students in the Isan club at Thammasat University as well as young and middle-aged Isan officials in the Faculty of Liberal Arts of the same university.

The following data are grouped according to structure types of the intensifying couplets. (Key words to be intensified are in italic; intensifying couplets are in IPA bold type.)

Group 1

- 1.1 { small (faces)
narrow (paths)

Couplets
[**tipsî:p**]

1.2	loose (skin) (physically slack)	[tèpsê:p]
1.3	light and thin (objects)	[tèpsê:p]
1.4	baggy (shirts)	[tàpsâ:p]
1.5	exceptionally thin (faces of starving men)	[tòpsô:p]
1.6	drooping (flowers)	[tùpsû:p]

Group 2

2.1	pot-bellied (men) (round part)	[ʔètpe:t]
2.2	roundish (kneaded dough)	[ʔètpe:t]
2.3	(sitting) cross-legged (wide space from knees apart)	[ʔàtpà:t]
2.4	small (bags)	[ʔòtpò:t]
2.5	bulging (pockets)	[ʔòtpò:t]
2.6	swollen (ankles)	[ʔùtpù:t]

Group 3

3.1	small pretty (faces)	[p ^h ɪwɪ:]
3.2	{ open (mouths) full bloom (flowers)	[p ^h ɛwɛ:]
3.3	bustling about (some movement)	[p ^h ɔwɔ:]
3.4	(turning up) abruptly (sudden action)	[p ^h òwò:]
3.5	stomping (to show anger) (repeated extreme action)	[p ^h ùwù:]

Group 4

4.1	cute little { (persons) (objects)	[ʔipì:]
4.2	flatish (objects)	[ʔèpe:]
4.3	small roundish (objects)	[ʔòpò:]
4.4	{ thick roundish (objects) stout (persons)	[ʔòpò:]
4.5	bulging (parts of body, objects)	[ʔùpù:]

Group 5

5.1	the eye of a needle (very tiny hole)	[cínpi:ŋ]
5.2	untidy hump (of clothes)	[cénpé:ŋ]
5.3	round opening (in a hedge)	[cónpó:ŋ]
5.4	medium hole (in a shirt)	[cónpó:ŋ]
5.5	{ open (space) brightness	[cánpá:ŋ]

Group 6

- | | | |
|-----|---|-----------|
| 6.1 | lively, pretty, cheerful (children) | [pǐŋsǐːŋ] |
| 6.2 | { beaming (with happiness)
(flowers) in full bloom | [pǐŋsǐːŋ] |
| 6.3 | { widely open
uncovered | [pǎŋsǎːŋ] |

Group 7

- | | | |
|-----|----------------------|-----------|
| 7.1 | lovely, cute, proper | [ʔǐmtǐːm] |
| 7.2 | fat, staying put | [ʔǎmtǎːm] |

2. Phonetic description of the couplets

All couplets in the seven groups mentioned earlier comprise two syllables either with or without final consonants. Each group bears the same set of tones, consonant initials and endings. The vowels in each couplet are reduplicated but with different duration, i.e. short duration in the first syllable and long in the second. These vowels appear to be restricted to, at least, two of the four front unrounded vowels [i e ɛ a] and two of the three back rounded vowels [u o ɔ] depending on structure types. The phonetic description of each couplet group is to be discussed.

Group 1. The couplets in this group consist of two closed syllables. The initial consonants of the two syllables are [t] and [s] respectively but with the same consonant ending, i.e. [p]. The tone set of this couplets is low and falling, low on the first syllable and falling on the second syllable, e. g. [tǐpsǐːp]

The gradation of vowels ranges from four front unrounded vowels [i e ɛ a] and two back rounded vowels [u o ɔ]. It can be said that except for the vowel grades, other phonetic characteristics are the same for the whole group.

Group 2. The general configuration of the couplets in this group is the same as that of the first group, i.e. closed syllables with reduplication of vowels. The initial consonants of the two syllables are [ʔ] and [p], while [t] occurs as the final endings of both syllables; the low-low tone set appears on each couplet, e.g. [ʔǐtpǐːt].

The vowel gradation ranges from three front unrounded vowels [e ɛ a], and three back rounded vowels [u o ɔ].

Group 3. The couplets consist of two open syllables with [p^h] as the initial consonant of the first syllable and [w] of the second syllable. The tone set is low and falling, i.e. the same as that of group 1. The reduplicated vowels range from two front unrounded vowels [i ɛ] and three back rounded vowels [u o ɔ], e.g. [p^hǐwǐː].

Group 4. The open-syllable couplets are also found in this group with [ʔ] and [p] as initial consonants. The low tone is reduplicated in both syllables. The gradation of vowels ranges from [i ɛ] and [u o ɔ], e.g. [ʔǐpǐː].

Group 5. The couplets comprise two closed syllables with velar nasal endings, i.e. [ŋ], in both syllables. The initial consonant of the first syllable is the voiceless palatal plosive [c], while [p] is of the second syllable. The high tone is reduplicated. The vowel grades vary from [i e a] and [o ɔ], e.g. [cǐŋpǐːŋ].

Group 6. The closed syllables are also found in this group with a reduplication of high tone and with [ŋ] endings in both syllables. The initial consonants are [p] and [s] respectively. The vowel grades are among three front unrounded vowels [i e a], e.g. [pǎŋsǎːŋ]

Group 7. The couplets in this group are closed syllables with a reduplication of low tone and with [m] endings in both syllables. The initial consonants are [ʔ] and [t]. The vowel grades range between two front unrounded vowels [ɪ a], e.g. [ʔàmtà:m]. In sum, it can be said that from the seven-group couplets, there appear five closed-syllable couplets and two open-syllables. Most consonants are plosives together with a glottal stop, a fricative, and an approximant. The vowel reduplication varies among four front unrounded vowels and three back rounded vowels. As for the tone set, three patterns of tone are found, namely the low-falling, the high-high, and the low-low.

3. Semantic Implication

Certain phonetic features in the couplets as a whole (as different from ordinary vowel change) imply a different kind of meaning change in the preceding expressions. The relationship between these features and the semantic change is not random but according to the system.

The implication of meaning among these couplets appears to correspond to two phonetic factors, namely the vowel grades and the rounding feature of vowels, the details of which are to be examined.

3.1 Vowel grades.

The grades of vowels in all groups semantically imply the following:

- degrees of firmness, symbolizing here as X1 and X2 (the lower cardinal number implies a lesser degree) as appears in group one.
- degrees of space and size, representing as Y1, Y2 and Y3 as appears in groups one to six.
- categories of physical description, i.e. positive representing as Z1 and negative as Z2, as appears in groups six and seven.

3.2 Rounding feature.

The rounding feature of vowels, which appears in groups one to five, implies the following:

- degree of curving contours: the closer the vowel the more curve is shown, representing as a1, a2, a3, as appears in groups two, four, and five.
- scales of movement: the closer the vowel the more quickly movement is signified, representing as b1, b2, b3, as appears in group three.
- degrees of strength: the closer the vowel the less energy it appears, representing as c1 (less energy) and c2 (more energy), as appears in group one.

4. Phonological analysis.

The phonological analysis is carried out by giving phonological formulae where the structures of the couplets are set up, and the paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations between the grade system and the features extending in the structures are stated in terms of exponents detailing the phonetic realization of each feature. The structures, the vowel-grade system and the features are to be described.

4.1. Phonological structures.

From the analysis, three main phonological structures of the intensifying couplets are set up, namely the checked structure, the unchecked structure and the nasal-ending structure. Each structure indicates consistent vowel gradation which marks different scales of meaning, the details of which are to be described in 4.4 and 5 respectively.

4.2. Vowel system.

From the data, the system of vowels in the three main structures is of four grades, represented as I B E A. The exponents of the 4-grade system of vowels are:

- I - exponents closeness (of vowel height).
- B - exponents half-closeness.
- E - exponents half-openness.
- A - exponents openness.

This vowel system occurs in the structures whose feature exponents are abstracted as described in 4.3

4.3. Feature exponents.

As some of the phonetic features, e.g. plosion, friction, aspiration, levels of tones etc. will be fixed in the structure exponents to be described in 4.4, the only two features which adhere to the structures are abstracted as:

- y - exponents frontness and unrounding.
- w - exponents backness and rounding.

In giving structural formulae, these two features will be attached to the vowel grade symbols.

These two sets of phonological formulae are applicable to all three main structures mentioned earlier, but the semantic implications vary from structure to structure. The formulae and other related exponents in all structure types are given in 4.4 and 4.5.

4.4. Overall structures and exponents.

From the three main structures, i.e. the checked, the unchecked and the nasal ending, the abstraction of the structure types and the exponents are as follows:

4.4.1 The checked structure consisting of two other structures:

- i $T \hat{V} P^{\neg} S \hat{V} V P^{\neg}$
- ii $\Gamma \hat{V} T^{\neg} P \hat{V} V T^{\neg}$

4.4.2 The unchecked structure consisting of two other structures:

- i $P^h \hat{V} W \hat{V} V$
- ii $\Gamma \hat{V} P \hat{V} V$

4.4.3 The nasal ending structure consisting of three other structures:

- i C V̇ N̄ P V̇ V N̄
- ii P V̇ N̄ S V̇ V N̄
- iii ɿ V̇ M T V̇ V M.

Thus the total structures of the intensifying couplets in this study are of seven types. The overall exponents of the phonological representations are:

- V, VV short and long duration of the same vowel quality.
- P non-voicing plosion without aspiration at the labial place of articulation.
- P^h non-voicing plosion with aspiration at the labial place of articulation.
- P^ʔ non-voicing checked (without plosion) at the labial place of articulation.
- T non-voicing plosion without aspiration at the alveolar place of articulation.
- T^ʔ non-voicing checked (without plosion) at the alveolar place of articulation.
- C non-voicing plosion at the palatal place of articulation.
- ɿ non-voicing glottal checked.
- S non-voicing friction at the alveolar place of articulation.
- M nasality at the labial place of articulation.
- N̄ nasality at the velar place of articulation.
- W open approximation at the labial-velar place of articulation.
- ˋˋ the low-low set of tones.
- ˊˊ the high-high set of tones.
- ˋˊ the low-falling set of tones.

4.5 Vowel gradation formulae.

The formulae for the gradation of vowels in all seven structure-types are shown below.

Structure 1

T V̇ P ^ʔ S V̇ V P ^ʔ		
Iy	redup.	
By		
Ey		
Ay		
Bw		
Iw		

Structure 2

ɿ V̇ T ^ʔ P V̇ V T ^ʔ		
By	redup.	
Ey		
Ay		
Iw		
Bw		
Ew		

Structure 3

P ^h	Û	W	Û	V
	Iy			
	Ey			
	Iw		redup.	
	Bw			
	Ew			

Structure 4

┌	Û	P	Û	V
	Iy			
	By			
	Iw		redup.	
	Bw			
	Ew			

Structure 5

C	Ú	Ñ	P	Ú	V	Ñ
	Iy					
	By					
	Ay		redup.			
	Bw					
	Ew					

Structure 6

P	Ú	Ñ	S	Ú	V	Ñ
	Iy					
	Ey					
	Ay		redup.			

Structure 7

┌	Û	M	T	Û	V	M
	Ey					
	Ay		redup.			

5. Semantico-phonological formulae for the vowel gradation.

As pointed out earlier, the vowel gradation in each structure signifies certain scales of meaning which varies from structure to structure. Thus the formulae for the vowel gradation in each structure in relation to its semantic implication are given below.

Structure 1 (→ indicates semantic correspondence)

Iy	→	less in space	(Y ₁)
By	→	lack of firmness	(X ₁)
Ey	→	less firmness	(X ₂)
Ay	→	more space	(Y ₃)
Iw	→	lack of energy	(c ₁)
Bw	→	less energy	(c ₂)

Structure 2

By	→	rounding shape	(Y ₁)
Ey	→	roundish shape	(Y ₂)
Ay	→	more space	(Y ₃)
Iw	→	more curve	(a ₃)
Bw	→	outward curve	(a ₂)
Ew	→	less curve	(a ₁)

Structure 3

Iy	→	small (less in space)	(Y ₁)
Ey	→	open space	(Y ₃)
Iw	→	extreme movement	(b ₃)
Bw	→	sudden movement	(b ₂)
Ew	→	some movement	(b ₁)

Structure 4

Iy	→	small	(Y ₁)
By	→	flatish	(Y ₂)
Iw	→	more rounding	(a ₃)
Bw	→	thick roundish	(a ₂)
Ew	→	small roundish	(a ₁)

Structure 5

Iy	→	tiny hole	(Y ₁)
By	→	hump	(Y ₂)
Ay	→	open space	(Y ₃)
Bw	→	round opening	(a ₃)
Ew	→	medium hole	(a ₂)

Structure 6

Iy	→	lively, pretty	(Z ₁)
Ey	→	with space	(Y ₂)
Ay	→	more space	(Y ₃)

Structure 7

Ey	→	positive description	(Z ₁)
Ay	→	negative description	(Z ₂)

6. Conclusion

The analysis of the intensifying couplets in the Isan dialect of Thai has shown a systematic organization of the internal code, i.e. meaning and the external code, i.e. sounds. To the writer's knowledge, this phenomenon is unique in this dialect. Another dialect of Thai, Bangkok Thai, also has a set of couplets, but there appears only the harmony of vowels and other related features (Tuaycharoen, 2001) which are in line with other studies on vowel harmony reported thus far (Sprigg, 1970; Carnochan, 1970; Schane, 1973; Hyman, 1975; Goldsmith, 1990; van de Hulst and van de Weijer, 1996). As far as semantic implication is concerned, the vowel harmony in the Bangkok Thai couplets simply signifies 2 scales of meaning, i.e. negative meaning and onomatopoeic description, which are far simpler than what has been found in the Isan dialect. All in all, the phonological phenomena in the Bangkok Thai couplets are much less complicated than the vowel gradation in the Isan intensifying couplets. The writer believes that there are more interesting phonological aspects in the unsophisticated dialects of Thai which are worth investigating.

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TEACH YOUR CHILDREN WELL: THE AGE BIAS IN THAI CHILDREN'S BOOKS

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Abstract

Children's books nowadays are becoming more and more of a commodity worldwide. They have turned into one of the major sorts of entertainment not just for children but for adults as well. But are they only for entertaining? Innocent as most of them may look, they have been found to be, among other things, class-biased, racist and sexist (see, for example, Hunt 1999, Knowles and Malmkjær 1996, Stephens 1992). That is, apart from being sources of fun and fantasy, they can also be regarded as sites of political and socio-cultural issues. Power relations and social ideologies are inscribed in children's books through the use of verbal and visual language and make them one of the most influential conditioning means in our society.

The study

This paper is based on the research study that we have conducted using the Critical Linguistics Approach to analyze seventeen children's picture books in Thai. All the books are award-winners of the Children Foundation Annual Awards or the National Book Development Committee Awards from the year 2533 to 2545 (1990 – 2002). The age range of the target audience is more or less between five to eight. This paper, however, focuses on only eleven of the seventeen, which contain adult and child characters and hence are relevant to the issue of age bias (see appendix).

The approach

Critical Linguistics Analysis basically states that language is a social phenomenon “in the sense that whenever people speak or listen or write or read, they do so in ways which are determined socially and have social effects” (Fairclough 1989:23). That is, the linguistic system is constructed by people in the society and, in turn, the language, through paradigmatic choice and syntagmatic combination, can and does reflect the society, shape and sustain social ideologies and hence control the people's perception and understanding of the world. This understanding then goes round to affect social practices, of which language is a part. In this way, language, ideology and society work in an endless cycle, constructing, shaping, reflecting and affecting one another.

In this approach a text is viewed as multifunctional: it serves an ideational function of representing the world and its entities as well as an interpersonal function of shaping social relations and identities. In particular, a text is seen as constructed out of choices from systems of options and of combinations of such choices, which is how ideological meaning is constructed. (see Fowler 1991, for instance).

Children's books usually consist of both verbal and visual components. For the visual analysis, we use the broad concept of social-semiotics, which means we basically treat all visual elements as signs that can be read for denotations as well as connotations. In addition, there is always an interplay between the verbal and the visual elements, which

contributes toward the overall meaning of the text. In other words, the visual component is taken as a mode of representation which “displays regularities which are discoverable”. (Kress and van Leeuwen 1998:218)

In a Critical Linguistics/Social-semiotics study, then, the formal text-binding and fabricating elements, both verbal such as word choices, sentence structuring, transitivity, pronouns, modality, as well as visual such as choices of images, colours, lines, sizes and page composition, are analyzed, particularly for the connotative level of meaning. Then from the connotations derive the ideational representation and the interpersonal relations inscribed in the text, which relate to social behaviour and practices, especially in terms of ideologies, power relations and social control among different groups of people in the society.

The approach has been applied, sometimes implicitly, by many scholars to English language children’s literature (e.g., Hunt 1999, Knowles and Malmkjær 1996, Nodleman 1996 and Stephens 1992) to reveal social ideologies such as class, gender and racial biases. Stephens (1999:57), for instance, explicitly states that in children’s literature as well as other types of discourse, “The forms and meanings of reality are constructed in language: by analysing how language works, we come nearer to knowing how our own culture constructs itself, and where we fit into that construction.” He goes on to illustrate how interpersonal as well as power relationships between two different groups of characters in a book can be read through linguistic constructions of point of view by means of represented dialogues.

In our study, different linguistic means in the eleven children’s picture books, both verbal and visual, are explored. Several social ideologies are found, one of which is the age hierarchy, which extends into age bias, working implicitly in favor of the older’s power and control over the younger. This age bias ideology is particularly the focus of this paper.

The analysis and findings

One of the findings of the eleven picture books is that the linguistic means, among other things, serve to uphold the power of the older upon the younger, thus contributing to the sustaining and reinforcing of the age bias, or the unequal power relations between the adults and children, in our society. To illustrate this finding, some analysis of the visual and verbal language used in the books is given as an example.

In all the books, the distinction in terms of physical and psychological attributes between the older and the younger characters is striking, and can be summarized in the table below.

Adults	Children	
	beginning of story	end of story
big	small	
strong	helpless, vulnerable	
knowledgeable	naïve, ignorant	more knowledgeable
experienced	inexperienced	more experienced
giving	receiving	
dependable	dependent	
kind, helpful	defiant	more tamed
powerful	powerless	

Visual language

The distinction in terms of physical appearance is most obvious in the visual language. Adults are shown through visual language to be big and strong whereas children are small and weak. When appearing together on the same page, adults' images are bigger and, most of the time, are positioned in the centre of the page, while pictures of children are much smaller, and insignificantly placed on the periphery. Also adults' images are frequently found on the left-hand side of the page facing the children's on the right-hand side. In visual language conventions, elements that appear on the left-hand side of the page are read as more established than those on the right-hand side (Kress and van Leeuwen 1998). In some books (e.g. Wipa 2536 and Kaisri 2544), a high angle point of view is used looking down on the child character, hence making it look like the adult character is towering over the child. This angle makes the adult seem more powerful and the child even more powerless and vulnerable..

Verbal language

Verbal language is another essential device to emphasize the age hierarchy. There are several linguistic means pointing to the higher status of the adults, implying their cultivated experiences and knowledge of ways with the world. Children, on the contrary, are shown to be inexperienced and naïve, sometimes to the point of being ignorant. Some of these linguistic means are:

The choice of words and phrases

Words (and phrases) have denotations and connotations and provoke associations. The meaning of words is therefore never simple and definitive; it is always complex and ambiguous with different layers of interpretation possible and plausible to different individuals in different cultures. Each writer has an enormous inventory of words to choose from. Their choices are determined, consciously or unconsciously, by what they think the world is like, as well as what they think the world should be like. In this analysis, only some of the most revealing choices of words and phrases in the children's books are discussed. They are:

Naming and labelling:

This is the choice of nouns and noun phrases. In the books, adult characters are named, for example:

luŋ tâw náam
uncle turtle water
'Uncle Water Turtle' (Namprom 2535)

khun râakkêew
address term taproot
'Khun Taproot' (Chairat 2543)

Child characters' names emphasize their smallness, such as:

lûuk taw bók
 baby turtle land
 ‘Baby Land Turtle’ (Namprom 2535)

sâyduan nóy
 earthworm little
 ‘Little Earthworm’ (Chairat 2543)

râak fý
 root shreds
 ‘Side Root’ (Chairat 2543)

nũu naa
 little personal name
 ‘Little Na’ (Aranya 2539)

verb choice:

The verbs chosen to associate with adult characters portray them as being powerful and knowledgeable, for instance, *rúu dii* (know well), *khâwcay* (understand), *àthíbaay* (explain), *tòp* (answer), *òprom* (train), *sǎn* (teach), *ànúyâat* (allow), *hây* (give, let), *thátthaan* (warn), *thuan* (warn), *sân* (order), *banháp* (force), *tamni* (blame), *kàktua* (detain). On the contrary, the verbs associated with children depict them as unknowledgeable, curious, defiant, easily scared and helpless, at the beginning of the stories. Examples of these verbs are: *sák* (keep asking), *thăam* (ask), *yàakrúu* (be curious), *rópráw* (insist), *ǎnwǎn* (beg), *súkson* (be naughty), *mâyýwǎm* (defy), *nĩ* (run away), *tòkcay* (be frightened), *klua* (be scared), *rǎnhây* (cry), *phawǎa* (be startled), *khǎw anúyâat* (ask permission). However, at the end of the stories, the child characters seem to change some of their previous attributes as the verbs associated with them change to *sǎmnúkhít* (repent), *yǎwǎm* (submit), *rúu* (understand), *kràapkhǎwphun* (thank gratefully), for instance. The children, having gone through ordeals and punishments, finally learn to understand and submit to the adults’ world.

Modifiers:

Noun modifiers related to adult characters are, for instance, *caydii* (kind-hearted), *mêettaa* (kind), *chíawchaan* (skilful), *kèh* (competent). Modifiers related to child characters are *lék* (small), *nâarák* (cute), and *sǎy* (clear).

Pronouns:

Child characters refer to themselves using polite first-person pronouns such as *phǎm* or *nũu* and address the adult characters using polite second-person pronouns such as *thân*, *khun* or kinship terms (e.g. *khuntaa* (grandfather)). Adult characters in most books also use kinship terms as pronouns (e.g. *mê* (mother), *lûuk* (child), *luh* (uncle)) but some are found to use pairs of power-related pronouns such as *khâa* (I) – *câw* (you) and *chǎn* (I) – *thəə* (you), hence placing themselves up high on the power hierarchy and patronizing the children.

Particles:

The final particles used by children characters all express politeness and respect (e.g. *kháp*, *khâ* and *khá*) while those used by adult characters are, again, power related (e.g. *yá* or *cá/câ*), showing lack of respect for and putting down children. Most of the time, adult characters do not use final particles at all, another put-down means.

The choices of words and phrases particularly in the naming and labelling of main characters in the books are meant to show the power and high status of the adults. The noun modifiers work the same way. The children are described as being small and insignificant incomparable to the adult's knowledgeability and expertise. The use of pronouns and final particles seem to serve to display the power of adult characters over the children even more. Finally, the choices of verbs also strengthen the unequal status and power relations between the two groups of characters. The verbs, more than any other elements in the sentence, connote the adults' world wisdom as well as kindness, hence legitimating them to teach, order, allow (or not allow), force or even to give punishments and rewards to the child characters. The latter, on the contrary, are shown through verbs depicting ignorance, naughtiness and defiance, particularly at the beginning of the stories. Later on, when they face the outcomes of their defiance, the verbs associated with the children change to those showing fright and fear, and then to repentance and submission, usually with gratefulness to the adults for their 'protection' and 'cultivation'. Thus it can be read that word choices, among other things, serve to inscribe the age hierarchy ideology in the discourse of childrens' books.

Sentence construction

Apart from word choices, the ways the words are structured to form sentences can display unequal power relations in the childrens' books, examples of which are:

The *thùuk* passive construction:

In all the eleven books, the *thùuk* construction is found to be used mainly with the child character as the subject of *thùuk*, the one suffering from the action verb. The adult character, when appearing in the sentence, is always the subject of the embedded clause, or the agent of the action verb. For example:

- (1) *námmon* *thùuk* *mêe* *kàktua wáy* *nay* *nán*
 personal name mother detain keep in there
 'Nammon was detained in there by his mother.' (Kaisri 2544)

- (2) *khõnfuu* *c#η* *thùuk* *khun* *mêe* *tamni*
 personal name hence mother blame
 'Khonfuu therefore was blamed by mother.' (Thippawan 2544)

The *hây* serial verb construction:

It is found that in the *hây* construction, the adult characters are placed in the subject position, as the 'giver' or the 'permitter', whereas the child characters are always in the object position, as the 'receiver' or the 'permitted' of the verb *hây*, for instance:

- (3) *khunyaay cuuŋ lăansăaw klàp maa thîi hōŋ càt*
 grandma lead granddaughter back come at room arrange
hây nōon loŋ bon tian léw hōm phaa hây
 lie down on bed then cover blanket
 ‘Grandma took the girl back to her room, put her to bed and tucked her in.’
 (Kanchit 2540)
- (4) *khunmêe hây khōnfuu lōŋ sày sâa tua nán*
 Mother Khonfu try put on shirt clf. that
 ‘Mother made Khonfu try on that shirt.’ (Thippawan 2544)
- (5) *mêe kōo ca mây hây phǎm lén khǎnlén*
 Mother then will not let me play toy
 ‘then mother will not let me play with my toys.’ (Wipa 2536)

The reason-consequence construction:

The reason-consequence connectors are found very often in the books. Particularly when an adult character behaves or acts in an irrational or unkind way, a child character is usually made responsible for the action through a reason-consequence construction, for instance:

- (6) *námmon thùuk mêe kàktua wáy nay nán phrǎ*
 Nammon mother detain keep in there because
wanníi kháw mâyyōom àapnáam
 today he not yield bathe
 ‘Nammon was detained in there by his mother because today he refused to bathe.’
 (Kaisri 2544)
- (7) *dúay khwamrák lé hùanyay thîi mii tòo*
 because of love and concern which have toward
lúuktàwbòk luntàwnáam cūŋ tàtsǐncay khlaan khên
 thus decide crawl up
càak bưŋ yày
 from pond big
 ‘Because of the love and concern that he has for Little Land Turtle, Uncle Water Turtle therefore decided to crawl out of the big pond.’ (Namprom 2535)

The thaa conditional construction:

This construction is used in the stories mostly when an adult character wants to condition a child to behave in the way the adult deems appropriate, e.g.,:

- (8) *thaa phǎm mây kin khâaw mêe ca mây phaa pay thîaw*
 if I not eat rice mother will not take outing
 ‘If I don’t eat rice, mother will not take me out.’ (Wipa 2536)

- (9) *thâa yak klâp bâan kôo àapnáam sá*
 if want go back home then bathe final particle
 'If you want to go home, then take a bath.' (Kaisri 2544)

The choices of sentence constructions in all these examples share a common function. They all serve to connote the power of the adult character over the child character. The *thùuk* and *hây* constructions are used to subject and submit the children to the adults' authority, by making them the 'sufferers' and the 'receivers' of the adults' treatments. The *thâa* construction imposes a condition on the children, hence implying the adults' plausible punishment if the children do otherwise. The latter therefore are depicted as powerless and controllable by adults.

The reason-consequence, worst of all, serves to portray the children as the cause of/reason for the adults' unkind, unbecoming behaviour. Not only does this construction depict the child as responsible for such actions but it also gives the adult legitimacy to punish the children. Through these constructions therefore child characters are placed in a lower and hence less powerful status than adults.

Voices and the representation of speech

The most common voices, or the narrative points of view, in children's books are of two types. First is the 'omniscient' narration, or the telling through the narrator's own voice. The other is the first-person narration, in which the story is told through the voice of the main character. Regarding voices, it is found that ten out of the eleven books use the first narrative technique: that is, they are told in the 'omniscient' narrator's voice, from the narrator's point of view. The other one (Wipa 2536) uses the first-person narrative technique with the main boy character as the narrator, using the first person pronoun *phôm* to refer to himself and *mêe* to refer to his mother, from the beginning until the penultimate page. On the last page, the boy's voice disappears, to be replaced by the narrator's voice. The following extracts are from the first page (10) and from the last page (11) of the book.

- (10) *phôm chhû yôot phôm mây chhâp kin phâk phôm*
 I name I not like eat vegetable I
chhâp kin khanôm dooychaphô khanômpan
 like eat deserts especially pastry
 'My name is Yod. I don't like vegetables, I like desserts especially pastries.'

- (11) *yôot kin phâk plaa khâaw lé nom yôot rúu wâa*
 eat vegetable fish rice and milk know that
kin ahâan léew ca mii rânkaay thîi khěngreeng ca
 eat food then will have body which strong will
tèptoo pen phûuyây thîi sômboon
 grow up be adult which perfect
 'Yod eats vegetables, fish, rice and drinks milk. Yod knows that if one eats (proper) food, one will have a strong and healthy body and one will grow up to be a perfect adult.'

Closely related to voices is the representation of speech. Various modes of representation are available for the writer to choose from, ranging from narrator's reports to indirect speech and direct speech dialogues. Narrator's report and indirect speech representations are believed to allow "both for subtle interplay between narratorial and character points of view and for narratorial control" (Stephens 1999:65) whereas direct speech dialogues correspond more with 'freedom' to express oneself and to connect directly with the readers without mediators.

Of the eleven books, it is found that four have very little (one to five short sentences) or none at all of the direct speeches made by the child characters (i.e., Amnart 2540, Aranya 2539, Thippawan 2544). The rest, which contain direct speeches made by both adults and children, give much more space to adults' speeches than to children's (e.g. Namprom 2535, Kanchit 2540, Kaisri 2544). This means that the adult characters have more 'direct contact' with the readers than the child character and that the readers 'interact' more with the former than with the latter. More importantly, these direct speeches are mostly found strikingly attached with narratorial framing, especially speech-reporting tags plus adverbs, which serve to imply the belittling attributes of children and the higher status of the adults, as previously shown in the table above. Examples are (12), (13), (14) and (15).

- (12) “---” *nũucíp phûut phróom yím hây khunyaay dûay*
 say together smile give grandma with
khwaam chũunchom
 admiration
 ‘“---”, said nuujip with a smile of admiration to her grandmother.’ (Kanchit 2540)
- (13) “---” *lujtáv phûut cháacháa dûay sǎaytaa mii prakaay mêettaa*
 say slow with eye have reflection kindness
 ‘“---” said Uncle Turtle slowly with reflection of kindness in his eyes.’
 (Namprom 2535)

- (14) “---” *sâydtannóy* *thăam yàansuphâap taam thîi*
 Little Earthworm ask politely following which
mêe khəəy sǎn wáy “---” *râakkêw sabàtsǎn tǎp yànmâyphǎccay*
 mother used to teach keep harshly answer annoyedly
 ‘“---” Little Earthworm asked politely as Mother has taught.
 “---” replied Mr. Taproot harshly with annoyance.’ (Chairat 2543)
- (15) “---” *mêe sâydtan tnan dūay khwaamhànyay*
 mother earthworm warn with concern
 ‘“---” warned Mother Earthworm with concern.’ (Chairat 2543)

The direct speech, then, is used not only to express oneself directly to readers but, implicitly, as a pole on which to hang a narratorial tagging and qualifying, which points towards the higher status of the adult character and the lower status of the child character. Therefore, it is another implicit, linguistic means of inscribing the age hierarchy in children's books.

Ideology and Children's books

Ideologies are knowledge, beliefs, ideas, attitudes and values commonly shared by members of society. Since they are so commonly accepted in the society, the members usually assume that they have always been the ways they are and that they are the whole absolute truth or reality, or a 'common sense' in the society, rather than have been socially and culturally constructed mostly by groups of people who gain interests from them.

Ideologies are political in the sense that they are always connected with power relations and social control: they are embedded in social conventions, which themselves are underlied by power relations. They serve to sustain and legitimate existing unequal social relations simply through the repetition of ordinary, familiar ways of social behaviour, the most common form of which is language use, “the form of social behaviour where we rely most on ‘common-sense’ assumptions.” (Fairclough 1989:2) It should not be surprising then that a large number of ideologies are found in children's books in all cultures and societies. In fact, the main ideology that children's picture books, and children's literature in general, are based on and driven by seems to be that it is the adult's responsibility to protect and discipline children since children are not yet fully formed, not yet world-wise, not yet disciplined into understanding the need for law, order and self-control to live a proper life in the society in the future.

In order to understand this ideology we need to look into the history of children's literature. What we call children's literature came into existence in Europe in the seventeenth century and became widespread a century after that. The reason why there was no special literature for children before the seventeenth century was because then the children were considered to belong to the adults' groups. Starting very early in their lives, they dressed, ate, acted and behaved like everyone else did; they were not treated as being different or as having special interests or needs. A religious group in England called the Puritans were believed to be the first to see children as a special vulnerable group, naïve, untamed, susceptible to sins, and to start producing books especially aimed at protecting them and directing them away from temptations (Nodleman 1996). This belief later on

came to be commonly accepted and became an influential ideology that spread worldwide through trade and colonization. It is very likely that this belief, strengthened by more modern child psychology theories such as Jean Piaget's stages in child development, forms the basic ideology underlying the children's books we studied. Children are portrayed as naïve, weak, uncultivated and powerless, especially at the start of the stories. Interestingly, the stories end with the child characters being less naïve, more disciplined, more cultivated. It is a depiction of the 'raw' becoming 'cooked'. Naturally, the person in charge of the 'cooking' and to be thankful to is the adult character, who is portrayed as wise, kind and authoritative. What we see, in fact, is a reflection of power relations and control between the adult characters on one side and the child characters on the other. These relations are always unequal in the sense that the former are always placed in a higher position on the age hierarchy than the latter. The commonly accepted ideology in all these books is basically that adults are older, hence wiser, and because of that, are to be respected and given power as well as legitimacy to control children. This, therefore, can be seen as a social bias on the basis of age differences.

Why have the writers done this? We believe most of them have advocated the age bias ideology in their books unconsciously, mainly because they themselves have been repeatedly taught to hold on to such a belief and way of thinking until they perceive it as part of the 'unalienable' ways of the world. For those who have advocated it knowingly, they do it with the best intention, so the children will see their 'proper' place in the Thai society.

The age hierarchy has been believed to be one of the most fundamental features of the Thai's mentality. (see discussions on this in, for instance, Cooper and Cooper 1982, Kislenko 2004). This belief in the different social statuses on the basis of age has gone further to assigning power and authority to the older and to subjecting the younger. Through reproduction and reinforcement via all forms of communication, it has come to be taken as a social reality, not to be questioned, argued against or denied, as seen reflected in all aspects of the Thais' lives, which are based more on group and community orientation than individualism. The process has been very long, in which language has had a major role in passing on the ideology from generation to generation as well as in making all societal members, especially the younger ones, accept the ideology and submit to it. This is part of what we call the process of socialization, or the 'fitting' of societal members in their 'proper' places.

Children's books, then, can be seen as one of the many forms of socializing agents working together with others to establish and sustain this ideology. Even though in principle children have a choice of not accepting or not submitting to the ideology, in practice it seems very difficult, if not completely impossible, to do that since adults not only write the stories but most of the time also read them out loud to the children, simultaneously directing them the way they see appropriate, that is, to be like the boy character *yōt* in *Sātpalāat kâp m̄ĕ* (Wipa 2536), who not only loses his own voice in the end, but has learned to understand that children do what adults tell them to do in order to 'grow up to be perfect adults' in the future.

yôot rúu wâa kin ahăan léew ca mii rânkaay thîi
 know that eat food then will have body which
khě̃rɛɛŋ ca tǎptoo pen phûuyây thîi sômboon
 strong will grow up be adult which perfect
 'Yod knows that if one eats (proper) food one will have a strong and healthy body
 and will grow up to be a perfect adult.'

Language then is not only socially shaped but is used to shape the society so all of its members can live happily ever after.

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